



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

THE
HISTORY
OF
CHRISTINA,
QUEEN OF SWEDEN.

From the French of
M. LACOMBE.



LONDON:
Printed for GEORGE KEARSLEY, in Ludgate-street;
M DCC LXV.

246. g. 49.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE design of history is to instruct and amuse: for which reason it is the universal study of mankind, and agreeable to all orders and degrees of men. The hermit, who, weary of himself and his cell, seeks to enliven the slow-paced hours, whilst he is running over the pages that relate the fluctuating and various appearances of human actions, soon forgets his solitude, and fancies himself transported into the midst of tumult and agitation. The scholar finds a multiplicity of materials in this occupation to spur him on to the exertion of his talents, and the display of useful criticism, upon different ages and events. The wit extracts from this source an inexhaustible succession of new and brilliant, passages, which enable him

A 2 to

ii ADVERTISEMENT.

to shine and to please ; but to the philosopher alone it appertains to study in history the science of man ; to discern, under the deceitful veil of policy, the true springs and secret machines that give movement to the passions. In vain does the Pyrrhonist endeavour to extend his incredulity to the reality of those objects which history presents to us, putting historians on a level with romancers : the probability of the narration, the uncontestible authenticity of the principal materials, and the established belief of the facts related, will always be sufficient to support the authority of history, and oblige us to regard that species of reading as essentially necessary to a good education.

History is of several denominations : that species of it which is universal, and comprehends all nations, mingles in its vast design an amazing variety of actors and events ; it paints in a great style :

style : hurried on by the rapidity of its progress, it can neither finish nor even sketch the outlines of any particular object. For this reason it becomes necessary to detach from these voluminous compilations, those celebrated personages, whose characters we would more closely examine, and whose actions merit a greater degree of attention. It is true, there are laborious compilers of detached memoirs who carefully seek, sagaciously examine, and diligently put together every circumstance that can facilitate the execution, or contribute to the perfection, of these select performances : but there is likewise (if I may be allowed the expression) a *mob* of kings, princes, and common heroes, who merit no more than a general attention. History ought only to particularize those rare and singular geniuses who are shining examples to mankind,

iv A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

kind, or such whose superior elevation of soul wings their flight to a more exalted sphere of action than their birth entitled them to appear in.

Among the most deservedly distinguished personages, none has excited curiosity more than the celebrated Christina, queen of Sweden, whose life I propose presenting to the public, which, I flatter myself, it will regard with some degree of complacency. At the same time, I ought to acknowledge the obligations I am under to M. Arkenholt: no memoirs can be wished for more complete than those of this learned Swede: he has read and collected all that relates to Christina, and has neglected no authentic circumstance that could be met with in the public libraries or private cabinets either of Italy or Sweden; so that his composition is as rational as well as an exact account of the

ADVERTISEMENT. v

the life and reign of that heroine. His immense collection consists of four large volumes in quarto, of which this little work is an abridgement ; yet I have not omitted any remarkable circumstance, and have principally endeavoured to make the character of the queen of Sweden known to the world, from those lineaments she has so strongly marked in her own letters, and in her other writings : in drawing her portrait, I have borrowed, as often as possible, her own pencil and her colours.

An eminent author*, in his *Miscellanies*, has related some anecdotes of the life and reign of Christina ; but as the point he has in view is to draw a chain of reflections from the character of that princess, I could not help apprehending that these anecdotes, so far

* D'Alembert—*Melanges de Literature.*

from

vi ADVERTISEMENT.

from rendering a particular history unnecessary, would, on the contrary, make it more desirable.

-71 I think it proper, likewise, to inform the public, that an essential difference will be found between Christina's original letters quoted or referred to in the following sheets, and those fictitious ones of M. Lacombe of Avignon, published in 1759: I entreat the reader to distinguish my work from that editor's; there being no conformity betwixt them but the resemblance of names.

THE

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
CHRISTINA, Queen of SWEDEN.

SWEDEN is that northern part of Europe, which, by the ancients, was called Scandinavia. It is bounded by Russia, Lapland, Norway, the Gulph of Finland, and the Baltic Sea. The climate is rigorous. There the piercing cold of a long winter, and the fervid, scorching heat of a short summer, rapidly succeed each other, without the intervention of spring or autumn: yet the inhabitants enjoy a serene sky, a pure air, and regular seasons, with healthful and vigorous constitutions. This kingdom has been at several periods united to Denmark and Norway: but the same sovereign could never possess these three crowns for any long duration.

2 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

ration. The king, senate, and states constitute the government of Sweden. The distinct orders, which are summoned at stated times to deliberate on the most important affairs, are the nobles, clergy, citizens, and peasants. This is the only monarchy that allows the peasants equal privileges with the rest of its subjects. The Swedes were always a warlike nation; and are descendants of the Goths, who rendered themselves so formidable in Europe, towards the decline of the Roman empire: their language is a compound of the Danish and Teutonic. Christianity was introduced into Sweden about the beginning of the ninth century, and the reformation was established there soon after some of the neighbouring states of Germany had embraced the opinions of Luther. Sweden, always unfortunate in her union with Denmark, strove a long time to free herself from a foreign yoke, to re-establish the ancient form of her government, and recover the right of electing her own sovereigns. After deposing several of her kings, she erected in times of anarchy the office
of

QUEEN OF SWEDEN. 3

of administrator ; a power resembling that of the dictator in ancient Rome ; by this method she frequently chose for herself a domestic tyrant, more cruel than the despotic oppression from which she was delivered.

(1395) Margaret, the celebrated daughter of Waldemar, deserved that appellation given her of *the Semiramis of the North*. Heiress to the two crowns of Denmark and Norway, she re-united Sweden to those kingdoms, as much by her policy as her arms : but, though her reign was undoubtedly illustrious, yet she treated Sweden like a conquered country, and held it in dependency on Denmark : the union of these three crowns, of which she procured a ratification, in the famous assembly of their representatives at Calmar, became a source of discord, and could not possibly be maintained.

(1415) Eric, the nephew, and successor of Margaret, conducted himself imprudently, and was deposed.

4 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

(1448) Charles Canutson, an ambitious citizen, contrived to get himself elected king, but was ignorant how to govern.

(1471) Under the title of administrators, the Steen-Stures were the oppressors of their country.

(1520) Christiern, king of Denmark, made himself *the Nero of the North*, and was beheld by his subjects with horror: they at last rejected him as a monster; foul with crimes, and bathed in the best blood of his people.

In 1523, Gustavus Vasa, a young Swedish gentleman, who had been proscribed by the tyrant, escaped from a prison, and appeared at the head of an army, to revenge the murder of his family, and the disgrace of his fellow citizens: he had the good fortune to vanquish this *bomicide* of his country, and forced him to have recourse to flight. The grateful Swedes pronounced their deliverer their king, and Gustavus was worthy of the title. His reign was long and glorious. It was agreed by the states to render the crown (which had been hitherto elective) hereditary in the family

QUEEN of SWEDEN. 3

family of that hero. It was Gustavus who introduced the Lutheran religion into Sweden, in order to dispossess the clergy of their enormous wealth and power.

(1560) Eric the XIth inherited his father's throne, but not his virtues: the cruelty and injustice of this prince forced his own family, as well as the nation, to rebel against him. (1568) John, Duke of Finland, his brother, besieged him in Stockholm, took him prisoner, and deprived him, at once, of his crown and life. Sigismund, the son of John, succeeded his father (1593). As he was likewise king of Poland, he confided the regency of Sweden to Charles of Sudermania, his father's brother: but by endeavouring too violently and precipitately, to restore the Roman catholic religion in this kingdom, and behaving to the Swedes in a very impolitic manner, the pride and inflexibility of his character occasioned an insurrection (1604). The states at length deposed him, and gave the crown to the regent Charles the IXth; who made himself universally agreeable, by his affability, and attachment to the cus-

B 3

toms

6 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

toms and religion of his country. This king acted like a good politician, governing with wisdom and moderation. The states were unable to refuse the settlement of the crown to his family; they went still farther; they made it hereditary in the female line, in case of failure in the male.

Gustavus Adolphus ascended the throne of Sweden, on the death of his father. His enterprizes, his victories, his talent for war, and genius for government, together with the virtues of his heart, and the qualifications of his mind, made all Europe bestow on him the epithet of *Great*.

Gustavus came to the crown before he was eighteen years of age, (a time when the kings of Sweden attain their majority) notwithstanding this objection, the council of guardians, the regency and the states, resigned into his hands the reins of government. This prince, at the commencement of his reign, had three wars to support against Muscovy, Poland, and Denmark: his first battles were unsuccessful, but his losses

losses inconsiderable; and by degrees he learned to conquer.

(1613) The Danes consented to relinquish their conquests for a million of crowns: Gustavus made a treaty with the Poles; but the war with the Muscovites still continued; they refusing to accept the king's brother, prince Charles Philip, for their sovereign, though he had consented to receive this dignity at their own request.

(1615) The Swedish monarch carried his troops into Russia, and penetrated beyond Narva. After subduing the province of Ingermania, and the city of Kexholm, he threw up a rampart between Muscovy and the frontier provinces of his own kingdom. This was the only condition insisted upon, in a treaty of peace concluded with the Great Duke Michael Fœderowitz Romanzow, whom the Russians had elected emperor.

(1617) The ceremony of the coronation of Gustavus at Upsal being over, the people were desirous he should marry; and he granted them this satisfaction, by chusing for his queen, Maria Eleonora, the eldest

8 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

daughter of John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg; a marriage which would always have been politically desirable, but was more peculiarly so to Gustavus, from his attachment to the Protestant religion, of which this princess was esteemed the greatest ornament. These nuptials were the prelude and signal to a new war with Poland, on the expiration of the treaty between the two nations. Animated, above all things, by a passion for arms, and the desire of conquest, Gustavus resolved to oblige Sigismund to renounce all future pretensions to the crown of Sweden: he gained several victories; at length forced the Poles to sue for peace, and to relinquish Livonia, as well as a considerable part of Prussia.

Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg had all the virtues and good qualities of her sex: to a form sufficiently beautiful and amiable, she united the greatest tenderness, sweetness, and complacency of character: her attachment to the king was so strong, that she suffered his frequent infidelities without shewing the least discontent. Her first
child,

child, who was named Christina, died in 1624. An accident occasioned the loss of a son before his birth; which gave rise to apprehensions that the king and queen would leave no heirs: however, these apprehensions were soon over; for after the return of their majesties from a journey into Finland, every thing seemed to promise an accomplishment of their earnest wishes. Both the king and queen had dreams which they believed mysterious, and interpreted agreeably to their hopes. The mind loves to be deceived in whatever it is warmly interested: sometimes even men of the most enlightened understandings are led into credulity by very slight appearances; and please themselves with imagining the most indifferent and trivial circumstances, omens of success. The astrologers, a species of flatterers, who read in the stars whatever is prescribed by interest or prejudice, predicted the birth of a prince, destined to support the glory of Gustavus. The king, soon after, was dangerously ill, and the conjunction of the planets seemed to threaten his life, and

10 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

likewise that of the queen and prince : but, on the 18th of December, her majesty was brought to bed of a daughter ; Gustavus speedily recovered his health ; the queen's in a short time was happily re-established, and the child lived. Never was astrology more mistaken ! Christina was born with a covering from the head to the knees ; her face, arms, and legs alone were free : a thick down upon her face ; and the strength and roughness of her voice so much deceived the women about her, as to make them hastily spread a report in the palace, that the queen was delivered of a boy ; a short-lived joy to the king, as, they soon discovered their mistake : the princess Catherine undertook the task of undeceiving her brother, who expressed neither surprize nor concern at this disappointment ; saying, without any emotion, “ Sister, let us
 “ return thanks to God ; I hope this daughter
 “ will prove as valuable to us as a son :
 “ may heaven graciously preserve her, since
 “ it has vouchsafed to bestow her upon
 “ us !” he added with a smile, “ This will
 “ be an arch girl, she puts tricks upon us
 “ so

“ so soon ! ” Orders were immediately given for public rejoicings ; and for all the entertainments customary on the birth of a presumptive heir to the crown. Gustavus always appeared extremely well satisfied, but the queen, on the contrary, was inconsolable that she had not a son : the child was, moreover, far from handsome ; having a swarthy complexion, with features hard and masculine ; which so much offended her majesty, that she beheld it with disgust.

Christina, afterwards, but too well returned her mother’s indifference, whilst she preserved, during her whole life, the tenderest remembrance of her father. Some days after the birth of this princess, she had a narrow escape from a beam that fell near the bed where she was asleep. Her nurses let her get several dangerous falls ; either from their carelessness, or perhaps, as Christina certifies in her memoirs, from a design to destroy her : but all these accidents produced no other ill consequence, than a slight irregularity in her shape, one shoulder being somewhat higher than the

B. 6

other ;

other ; a defect she knew how to conceal by the disposition of her dress.

The states-general of the kingdom were convened, and came to render homage to the daughter of Gustavus; who reposed (as she expresses it) “ on palms and laurels, in “ the arms of fortune and victory, who “ sported round her cradle.” Gustavus was sensible of a very lively fondness for this only branch in which he saw himself renewed. The young Christina was seized with a dangerous distemper, when he was at the mines, which are at a great distance from Stockholm : he was so much alarmed, that he came away immediately on receiving the news ; and travelled more expeditiously than any courier would have done. This august infant quickly recovered, and Gustavus commanded a public thanksgiving to be solemnized. His little daughter made excursions with him ; and before she was two years old he carried her to Calmar. The governor, fearing to terrify the princess, whose health was of such importance to the king and to the state, desired to know if it was his majesty’s pleasure

sure that the cannon of the fortress and garrison should make the accustomed salutes? Gustavus at first hesitated what answer to give; but after a few moments silence, "Let them fire! (said he) she is the daughter of a soldier, and it is proper the sound should be familiar to her." The child was so far from being frightened at this military explosion, that she laughed, clapped her hands, and by her gestures and joy expressed a desire that they would fire again. Circumstances like these are doubtless unimportant, but they serve to characterize a kind of warlike instinct in the infancy of this princess: Gustavus, who felt as a father, did not despise them, but observed with complacency these marks of natural intrepidity in his daughter. From this time he always took her with him when he reviewed his troops; and remarking the pleasure she discovered at these martial appearances, he said to her, "We will go away now, but I promise you, that one day or other, I will carry you to a field where you shall see finer fights!" — "To my misfortune (says this

14 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

“ this princess in relating the fact) death
 “ prevented him from keeping his word,
 “ and me from the happiness of serving an
 “ apprenticeship under so compleat a mas-
 “ ter.” Indeed Christina, all her life, ex-
 pressed some regret for having never ap-
 peared in an engagement at the head of an
 army. She had the heart and sentiments
 of an Amazon !

Germany now entered as an auxiliary
 into the Polish war ; and Sweden, besides
 revenging herself upon the emperor, had
 those Protestant princes to defend, who
 called in her assistance against the oppres-
 sion of the house of Austria : even the ca-
 tholic princes were desirous to stop the
 course of that formidable power which
 threatened Europe with slavery. The con-
 federate sovereigns all cast their eyes upon
 Gustavus as their chief, promising to fur-
 nish him with troops and money. There
 wanted not so many motives to persuade
 this warrior-king to take the field. A war
 so extensive could not be soon concluded,
 and must necessarily be attended with
 very material events : The King’s sagacity
 foresaw

foresaw them all, and even painted, with too much truth, the misfortune which awaited himself in this expedition. He made such a settlement and disposition of his affairs, as if he never more was to return to his capital : he confided to the princess Catherine his sister, and to his brother-in-law the prince Palatine the superintendancy of the finances ; and, above all, the preservation and education of his dear Christina.

He likewise had her acknowledged by the states, and the army, as his only heir, and as queen of Sweden, in case of his death. He placed the five great officers of the kingdom at the head of the regency, and of the council of guardianship, during his absence, or during the minority of Christina, expressly excluding the queen ; having remarked in this princess, not only an aversion to the Swedes, but an inclination to favour foreigners, and introduce them into the affairs of government. He left to the states the care of fixing the time of majority in their young sovereign, ac-

16 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

ording as the prematurity and capacity of her genius should direct.

The great chancellor Axel Oxenstiern, favourite and prime minister to Gustavus, was regarded as the oracle of Sweden, and was so in reality. The king once wrote to him, " That if he was less acquainted " with the superiority of understanding in " his chancellor, he would rather chuse to " resign his crown than continue to reign." In the breast of this great man his sovereign deposited his secrets, his designs, his hopes, and his fears : to him he gave particular instructions relative to the support of the police, and the glory of the government.

The senate assembled. Gustavus, seated on his throne, prescribed the plan of administration they were to follow. He then recommended his infant daughter to their charge ; taking her by the hand, and at the same time addressing the senate in a pathetic speech, dictated by the love of his country, and paternal affection. He afterwards made the necessary preparations for
this

this important journey, in which he was accompanied by the queen.

The little Christina had been taught a compliment, which she repeated in bidding adieu to her parents: the king, perplexed with affairs, was inattentive to her prattle; when the child pulling his coat, at last made him turn towards her; softened and penetrated with grief, the father took her in his arms, and bathed her with his tears! —It was the parting of Hector from Astyanax. How pleasing to see these heroes and warriors, these beings of superior order, furnish examples of the most sensible humanity!

Christina remained inconsolable for the absence of her father: she cried so excessively for several days, that it was feared her sight would be injured, which, like the king's, was naturally rather weak. These tears appeared an unfortunate presage to the common people, always credulous, and frequently superstitious: other auguries were likewise consulted, that denounced a misfortune but too well confirmed by the event.

(1630)

(1630) Gustavus surpassed all the expectations that the world had formed of his valour and military skill: he attacked the Imperialists with advantage, forced them to evacuate Pomerania, and possessed himself of several strong places where the enemy had lodged their magazines. The emperor assembled all his generals to assist him in opposing the progress of this victorious monarch; amongst others, the renowned Tilly, a native of Bavaria. He was a man mature in years, and of consummate experience; and had been hitherto attended with so extraordinary good fortune as never to have lost a battle: but the king of Sweden's invincible ascendancy prevailed over Tilly's. His penetrating foresight discovered the most concealed projects of that general: the celerity of his marches was almost incredible; as well as that invincible intrepidity with which he opposed all his efforts. The battle of Leipzig raised Gustavus to the highest pinnacle of glory; Tilly was obliged to fly, after suffering an entire defeat, attended with great slaughter: the success of this
action

action strengthened the victor's party with the addition of those princes who till then had preserved a neutrality. The emperor Ferdinand the II^d, trembled at Vienna. He now relied entirely on Wallenstein, an old general of a magnificent disposition; whose wealth was so considerable, that he could raise an army at his own expence, and so much beloved by the soldiers, that he was, truly, the only man who could revive the drooping courage of the Imperialists. Wallenstein soon collected a numerous body of forces, notwithstanding which the Swedes continued their progress against the enemy, making themselves masters of all those strong forts which extended on both sides the Danube, as far as the neighbourhood of Ulm. Tilly was wounded in an engagement, and died in a few days. Gustavus penetrated into Bavaria, took possession of Augsbουργ, and of several other cities in Upper Swabia.

(1632) Wallenstein opened the campaign, by some advantages that inspired him with hopes of recovering the affairs of the emperor :

peror. He loudly declared, "He would force the Protestant princes to return to their former yoke." With this view he attempted to invest the city of Nurenbourg, by way of punishment for its having favoured Gustavus : but the king, in order to protect the city, had encamped near it, in a well-fortified situation. The Imperial general attempting a blockade, the king offered him battle, and drove him back to his intrenchments ; the action lasted ten hours, without being decisive, because the Imperialists never quitted their lines. The king decamped from Nurenbourg, after strengthening the fortifications, and Wallenstein at the same time quitted his post, turning his route towards Misnia, intending to attack the Saxons. Whatever complaints Gustavus might have against their elector, and however personal interest might instigate him to continue the war in the hereditary provinces of the emperor, yet he was too generous to suffer his ally to remain in danger. His advancing forward brought on the battle of Lutzen, in Upper Saxony, on the

the 16th of November. Gustavus had thrown the enemy's troops into disorder, seized all their artillery, and was preparing for a general pursuit, when he was killed, in the flower of his age, surrounded by his own troops, without their ever being able to discover from whence the ball was aimed that occasioned his death. The Swedes, exasperated to a degree of fury, at the sight of the dead body of their sovereign covered with blood, fell upon the Imperialists, and pursued them with a dreadful slaughter.

Gustavus was a beneficent prince, just, affable, and generous; thoroughly acquainted with all the duties of a monarch, and extensively fulfilling them. He formed good laws for his people, and was strict in their execution. He corrected a variety of abuses in the mode of the Swedish government, animating the industry of his subjects by enlightening the objects of it. His court was open to men of merit and useful talents: he cultivated and honoured the belles lettres, and was the friend of the arts and sciences: the study of his-
tory,

22 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

tory, of tactics, and the whole art of war, were his favourite amusements. He discovered a singular pleasure in meditating on Grotius's Treatise on "The Rights of War and Peace." This prince was eloquent, loved to speak in public, and could express himself with fluency in several languages. But who ever excelled him in the knowledge of commanding or making himself obeyed? of gaining the affections of his officers and soldiers? of encouraging an army? of presiding over all the movements of that vast machine, becoming the soul of it as well as the commander? He weighed the characters, the vices, and the talents of his enemies; he studied the different interests and projects of his allies! The exquisite penetration of genius in Gustavus gave him an influence that could not be resisted: no person understood the nature of men better, or the art of employing them with greater propriety.

Glory was his predominant passion; he courted it in the field with an enthusiastic courage and temerity, that in a general and a king was undoubtedly culpable: fre-

frequently, covered with wounds, he would expose his person in the heat of action like a common soldier.——He was himself a soldier, and was fond of the name ! His campaigns and victories have justly placed him in the rank of the most famous heroes.

This warrior is represented to us of a physiognomy majestic and martial ; his features large without being coarse, and the air of his countenance smiling and familiar : of a middle stature ; prodigiously fat, yet very lively and active. He delighted in raillery, and possessed that unfortunate qualification himself. He has been reproached with being too great a slave to his passion for the fair sex, too easily prone to anger ; and with sacrificing too often to the vice of his country and of the times, without having any inclination for wine.

When his body was opened, the surgeons found the heart preternaturally large *. This prince had a kind of prescience of his approaching death : before the battle of Lutzen, he wrote a letter to the great

* Gustavus's heart weighed one pound ten ounces.

chan-

24 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

chancellor, containing a draught of his last will ; regarding himself (though then in perfect health) as arrived at the fatal period of his life. He recommended to this minister to watch over the interests of Christina ; to take care that the queen was treated with all the honours and respect due to her rank, at the same time to remove her from affairs of state, and above all, to prevent her having any share in the education of her daughter.

The last duties were rendered to Gustavus with a magnificence worthy of a sovereign : he was embalmed, notwithstanding the orders he had given that his body should not be opened ; this was rather a weakness in so great a man, but it was at that time a general one in the Swedish nation, and was the result of a superstitious respect for the dead. When the body was conveyed into Sweden, the queen-mother refused to quit the remains of her husband till they were deposited in the tomb ; shutting herself up in the funeral apartment, and indulging her sorrows with that mournful scene ! No wife ever gave greater or
sincerer

sincerer proofs of her love or of her grief: Time rather augmented her woes. After this sad event, she discovered much more affection for Christina; regarding her as the living image of her husband, of whom she had indeed many features of resemblance. In the first transports of grief and tenderness, she clasped her daughter in her arms, the tears streaming down her face; "I will be the governess of my child (said she) and form her infancy!" Maternal tenderness confined this young queen for two years in a melancholy solitude. Sometimes, by way of diversion, buffoons and dwarfs were introduced, according to the custom that prevailed in the courts of Europe, especially those of Germany; the taste of that part of the globe not being then arrived at a sufficient degree of perfection to relish those interesting representations, which are the result of genius and the fine arts. Christina, detesting, and shunning such low and insipid amusements, concealed herself as often as she could, under pretext of being deeply engaged at her studies, in order to avoid so great a constraint

straint on her inclination: this was the original cause of her passion for reading and exercise.

The deceased king left a natural son, whose name was Gustavus Gustafson; whom he had by Margaret, the daughter of Abraham Cabelian, director-general of commerce in Sweden. This prince was sixteen years old, when, hearing of the death of Gustavus, he flew to his monument, and, by his entreaties, prevailed on the guards to open it. On seeing the dead body, his eyes swimming in tears, he broke out into this exclamation: "Alas! then all is over! I must now, with Heaven's assistance, endeavour to imitate him in glory, or die in the attempt!" He entered immediately into the army of Weimar, where he distinguished himself by his valour: Christina afterwards bestowed on him the title of count of Vasabourg, intimating that he drew his origin from the house of Vasa.

(1633) The enemies of Sweden gave public demonstrations of their joy on the death of the great Gustavus: their courage revived, and they hoped no future obstacle could

could be powerful enough to stop the progress of their enterprizes. The glory and fortune of Sweden, so brilliant under the auspices of its hero, were on the eve of being eclipsed with him. The league of the protestant princes, of which he was the *active principle*, tended towards a division; each member only consulting his private interest, distrust and misunderstandings broke the union amongst them, and all things seemed to threaten the evils of anarchy, and the horrors of a civil as well as of a foreign war.

In the midst of these general alarms, Christina, at six years old, was the only hope of her country, and the only surviving branch of the marriage of Gustavus with Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg. In the mean time the states of Sweden assembled, when the marshal of the diet opened the proceedings by proving the authenticity of that decree which had given a right of inheritance to the female line of Charles, the IXth. grandfather to Christina, in default of the male. In consequence of this act, he proposed, that Christina should be crowned:

28 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

he was instantly interrupted by a member of the peasants order, whose name was Larsson, calling out, "Where is this daughter of Gustavus? we don't know her; let her be produced!" The whole community presently began to murmur, repeating the same words. To appease their clamour, the grand-marshal went to the palace, and, taking Christina in his arms, carried her into the midst of the senate. Larsson advanced, and examining her attentively, cried out, "Yes, it is she! Behold the features, the very face of Gustavus Adolphus! we will have her for our sovereign; let her be seated on the throne immediately, and proclaimed *king*!" The states were eager to fill the throne, in order to deprive the king of Poland, and his family, of all farther expectations; as they claimed some apparent right to it, by virtue of an oath, by which the Swedish nation had entered into an engagement to settle the crown on the male heirs of Gustavus Vasa, the grandfather of Sigismund. The states published a declaration, making any Swede guilty of high treason, who should
either

either act or speak in favour of a foreign prince.

The name of Christina was become the signal in the Swedish armies, and the generals had already taken the oath of allegiance; they came to lay at her feet those trophies taken from the enemy on the fatal day of the battle of Lutzen.

This august child delighted to appear in state; for when the Russian ambassadors came to ratify their alliance with the Swedes, it was apprehended Christina would be terrified at the appearance of so numerous a train of Muscovites, with long beards, monstrous dresses, singular ceremonies, and something barbarous even in their politeness! but, on the contrary, this interview, which had been represented rather tremendous, was to her quite an entertaining spectacle. Elevated upon a throne, Christina acted the queen with great steadiness and dignity; appearing to these ambassadors as one born to command, in whom the daughter of the hero and the king could not be concealed! The queen appears to recollect

G. 3.

this

this anecdote, in her memoirs, with much satisfaction.

The vigilance of the senate, the unanimity of all the orders, and the advice of chancellor Oxenstern, saved the state in the ever tempestuous season of a minority, and at a time when Germany, Poland, Denmark, and other powers, were jealous of the glory and aggrandizement of Sweden; seeking occasion to excite domestic contentions in her bosom, and to raise up foreign enemies. Russia assisted her ally by a very important service: finding Sigismund already prepared to support his pretensions by force of arms, she immediately declared war against him, and exerted her strength so vigorously, that all the Polish troops were sufficiently employed to defend themselves.

In conformity to the plan laid down by Gustavus, the states appointed a council of regency and guardianship, composed of those five senators who were the great officers of state, the grand bailiff, marshal, admiral, chancellor, and treasurer of the crown. The votes were unanimous in referring

ferring the general direction of foreign affairs, and principally those of Germany, to chancellor Oxensteirn; with an unlimited power in all regulations relative to peace or war. A confidence due from the nation to the patriotic spirit and abilities of this eminent statesman!

He convened a general assembly at Hailbron, in the name of the young Queen, where those princes who had any interests to support, either personally appeared, or sent their deputies. The Swedish minister, as head of the confederacy, stipulated for the interest of his sovereign and that of the protestant party: he renewed the Swedish alliance with France, England, and Holland, and got a fresh ratification signed by all those states of the empire who had entered into a league to defend their liberties, that it should remain indissoluble till the conclusion of the war.

The allies engaged to maintain, at their own expence, an army of sixty thousand men, to be commanded by Swedish generals, and to augment that number, should occurrences, or the interest of the league,

require it: they likewise agreed with Sweden to resign to the chancellor the conduct of those affairs that regarded the common cause; but, at the same time, appointed a committee to assist him, which they stiled a *consilium formatum*. Oxensteirn, by an exertion of his authority at the assembly of Hailbron, re-established the children of Frederick count Palatine, in their estates, and also in their electoral dignity. He hoped by this step to attach the house of Brandenburg, as well as that of the Palatine, more firmly to the confederacy; and likewise to prevent the elector of Saxony, who was secretly treating with the emperor, from abandoning the allies. It required all the zeal and political knowledge that this great man was possessed of to undertake a negotiation with German electors, whose characters and interests differed so widely; and to conciliate the disputes of foreign generals, in spite of their opposite views, their jealousies, and competitions. To Oxensteirn it appertained, however, to find an honourable clue to this political labyrinth; his was the art to reanimate the courage, and for-

fortify the union of the ancient friends of Sweden; to break the measures of her enemies; and to preserve to his country the principal direction in affairs, and almost the same credit and authority she enjoyed during the life of Gustavus. And all Europe coincided in praising the wisdom and address of this minister.

The care of the finances was again bestowed by the council of guardianship, on the prince Palatine, an office the late king had intrusted him with; whilst the princess Catherine, his wife, remained with her niece Christina sedulously mindful of her preservation. The senate's attention was not confined to the securing the repose of the kingdom, maintaining conquests, defending those places subdued in Germany, on the Baltic Sea, or settling the means of continuing the war till an honourable peace could be obtained: it extended its views still farther; to the inestimable advantage of modelling the education of the infant sovereign; of instilling into her mind and heart all those virtues and accomplishments that augment the lustre of a crown, and are

C 5. essential

34 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

essential to render a reign happy and flourishing. " An heir apparent to a throne is an
" universal blessing ; the glory of the state,
" and the felicity of individuals, depend
" upon it. Those who believe that infancy
" is the season when princes hear truth, are
" mistaken ; for even in the cradle, they
" are feared and flattered : mankind dreads
" the memory of princes as much as their
" power, and treats them like young lions,
" who can draw blood, though they have
" not yet strength to devour." These were
Christina's own reflections.

In establishing the household of the princess, the senate placed none but the most virtuous persons about her ; and chose preceptors for her in every branch of useful and ornamental knowledge : the states applied themselves to tracing the plan of her education, and having her perfectly instructed in the great art of government,

From her earliest youth Christina had discovered an easy conception, and an incredible ardour in the pursuit of the study of politics, sciences, and languages : she became acquainted with ancient history in the
ori-

original, and particularly delighted in reading Polybius and Thucydides.

Gustavus Adolphus had appointed Azel Banier, grand master of the household, preceptor to his daughter. He was the king's favourite, the confidant of his amours, and companion of his pleasures, a finished cour-tier, knew little of books, but was ambi-tious to excel in all the exercises of a gen-tleman; and, though governed by his pas-sions, was full of honour. The sub-pre-ceptor, who had likewise been chosen by the king, was Gustavus Horn, a senator, and nephew to the marshal of that name: this lord had seen all the polite courts in Europe; was compleatly versed in the man-ners and polity of every nation; loved the belles lettres, and conversed readily in sever-al languages: with these qualifications, he was a good politician, and extremely pro-p-er to instruct the infant mind of a sove-reign.

But Christina was most strongly attached to John Matthias, whom her father had also named for her preceptor: she praises him in several parts of her memoirs; cele-

brating him as one who loved virtue, inspired it in others, and practised it himself. The knowledge of literature, and of the sciences, was familiar to him; he abounded in discretion, sweetness of temper, and profound erudition, and possessed the art of conveying instruction without pedantry.

The king had not only emphatically requested these tutors to infuse into the mind of his daughter a strict regard for modesty and decency, as the distinguishing virtues of her sex; he also requested them to give her a manly education, not only in relation to mental exercises, but even to corporal; and her natural bent seconded, in an extraordinary manner, the intentions of Gustavus. To use her own words, Christina displayed in her infancy "an invincible antipathy to all the occupations and turn of conversation usual to women;" and was astonishingly inexpert in all those works that require delicacy of finger; whilst, on the contrary, she shewed a remarkable facility not only in the most abstracted studies, but also in the most fatiguing labours and exercises that constitute an athletic education.

tion. The grand chancellor Oxensterna made it his particular attention to enlighten the understanding of this young queen with all the rays of his genius and experience; teaching her how to reign, by explaining the superior duties for which she was destined, and opening to her the paths of true glory!

Whilst Christina increased in years and intelligence under these admirable preceptors, the Swedes and their allies continued to support the superiority of their arms. General Horn reduced Alsatia, and gained an advantage over the Bavarian cavalry near Kempten. George, duke of Lunenburg, made himself master of several places in Westphalia, after obtaining a victory over count Mansfield: great part of the dutchy of Munster acknowledged the authority of the landgrave William. But in Silesia, jealousy had sown dissensions among the Swedish and Saxon generals, which impeded their progress: far greater calamities were to be apprehended from a sedition that had arisen among the Swedish officers, who not only insisted on having all the arrears due

to them, but exacted extraordinary recompence for their past service. Duke Bernard secretly excited these disturbances, wanting to assume the absolute command of the allied army, and to obtain the cession of the dutchy of Franconia, together with Wurtzburg and Bamberg: Oxenstern, who dived into his views, abandoned to him Franconia, and by that means persuaded him to desist from his other pretensions.

The allies divided their troops into several corps, who acted in different places. The Imperialists, superior in number, had driven the Swedes out of Saxony, but the latter had the advantage in Franconia and the Palatinate: the landgrave William had taken Paderborn: duke George of Lunenburg had besieged and taken Hamelen, after defeating a body of 15000 men who attempted its relief: the city of Osnabrug was unable to withstand the efforts of the allies: at the same time Christiern, of the Palatine branch of the counts of Birkenfeld, defeated the Lorrainers in the Lower Alsatia, opening himself a passage into Swabia: duke Feria, also, had brought with him, from Italy, 14000 men to join the army

my of Attringer, one of the generals of the Empire; Gustavus Horn, the Swedish general, pressed these troops so closely, that he obliged them to retire into Bavaria, after the loss of many lives. Duke Ferial was eager for success, and animated by a passion for glory: he had already boasted of the lustre of his actions, the superiority of his troops, his resources, and experience; and was too much mortified to survive the shame of this defeat: he died of vexation and despair. Duke Bernard had the address to deceive John de Wert (a celebrated officer in the Imperial army) by a stratagem; for, feigning a design of attacking Munich, he, in fact, by forced marches, arrives at Ratisbon, seizes that important city and several others, making great devastation in Bavaria; he was soon afterwards obliged to retreat precipitately towards the Danube, on the approach of Wallenstein, the general of the Empire, who was on his march to attack him. The Swedes, though they frequently obtained victories over the Imperialists, were, however, sometimes repulsed; and this constant alternative of success and mis-

miscarriage, adding to the disagreement amongst the commanders in both armies, rendered their losses and advantages so nearly equal, that the fate of the war still remained undetermined.

(1634) Wallenstein, at the head of the Imperialists, taught them how to triumph over the Swedes near Steinau; this general recalled victory under his banner, and enjoyed the entire confidence of the soldiery; but his pride, his haughty, inflexible character, together with his love of independency, drew upon him the envy of many, who by degrees undermined his credit with the emperor, notwithstanding he had been his friend, his counsellor, and his defender. The suspicion of treason, and ambitious projects with which his enemies had slandered his reputation, tempted him at last to realize their accusations; he made propositions to France and the rest of the powers at variance with the Empire, to throw his army into their scale, on condition they would assist him in the conquest of Bohemia; but they apprehended this promise to be only a snare concerted between the emperor and his

his general, in order more effectually to destroy the allies. Walenstein, seeing all his real, as well as imaginary projects of aggrandizement prove abortive, sunk at last under the superior influence of his rivals ; and being recalled by the emperor, who gave the command of the army to his eldest son, the arch-duke Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, was a few days after his disgrace assassinated at Egra, by three Scotch officers.

The imperialists and the allies held the balance in equal poise some time longer, without either gaining any decisive advantage : till at length the king of Hungary, seeking an occasion for signalizing his courage, besieged Ratibon, and carried that strong city. The allies, arriving too late for its relief, withdrew to an advantageous post in the neighbourhood of Ropfinger. But impatience, which so often becomes imprudence, urged the Swedish general officers to attack the Imperialists, though the latter had received a reinforcement of Spanish troops : this was contrary to the opinion of general Horn ; but his foresight was

was construed into timidity, and he was obliged to give way. A battle was therefore fought near Nordlingen, in which the greatest part of the Swedish infantry was cut to pieces; and a number of prisoners taken; Gustavus Horn was amongst the latter, after performing prodigies of valour, whose military knowledge, unhappily, but too little consulted, even exceeded his courage. The Protestant league felt the weight of this blow extremely, as the consequences were likely to be very fatal. The elector of Saxony, ever regardful of his personal interest, and unmindful of the common cause, was the first to break his connection with the allies, and to join the victorious party. The Imperialists made the best use of victory, by subduing several considerable places, and harrassing their enemies. In this extremity, Sweden had recourse to France; and ceded Philipsbourg and the province of Alsatia to that power, as the reward of those services she expected from this alliance. The grand chancellor went himself to Paris to negotiate a treaty which, he hoped, might enable him

him to prop the tottering state of Sweden. This minister received from the king, and the whole nation, those honours that were due to his rank, and still more to his merit. He did justice himself to this reception, on more occasions than one. The famous John de Wert, who had done so much mischief to the French by his incursions, and whose name was become so terrible to the inhabitants of Paris, that it afterwards passed into a proverb, was at last taken prisoner by the Swedes, and delivered up to the French. On hearing general Horn was in the hands of the imperialists, chancellor Oxenstiern, who was brother-in-law to that unfortunate Swede, made a proposal to exchange him for an officer of the empire; but he met with much difficulty and dilatoriness in the conduct of a nation, unwilling to set her most formidable enemy at liberty: the solicitations of the queen, the regency, and the grand chancellor had not sufficient efficacy to prevent field-marshal Horn from remaining near eight years in captivity.

The

44 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

The Imperialists having taken Philippsbourg by surprize, where the French had great magazines, and likewise reduced some other cities, the Swedes were under the necessity of relinquishing part of their conquests, in order to gain time, and prevent their total ruin : they yielded therefore Prussia to the king of Poland, to soften that power and obtain a renewal of the treaty between them, which was almost expired.

The most dangerous enemy of Sweden was the elector of Saxony : nothing was capable of setting bounds to that inveterate malice with which he persecuted his ancient allies, equally employing artifice, and open force for their destruction. With bribes and promises he seduced a disaffected party of Swedish officers, in whom bad success, and want of pay, had weakened that zeal and attachment they owed their country. At this time the destiny, and even the very existence of Sweden, depended on two persons only ; chancellor Oxenstiern, the most able and most active politician of the age, negotiated the business of
the

the nation; general Banier, as much renowned for his courage and military capacity, fought its battles. As a means to break that intelligence which the elector of Saxony maintained with his army, Banier found himself under the necessity of marching into the dutchy of Brunswick: the Saxons, taking advantage of his retreat, extended their lines along the banks of the Elbe; immediately the Swedish general ordered a forced march, surprized the army of the empire, destroyed part of it, and made a great many prisoners. This victory was attended with several other advantages, the principal were, that it reanimated the spirit of the troops, and kept the malecontents in obedience.

(1636, 1637) The Protestant league was entirely dissolved. Sweden, amongst all her confederates in Germany, had been unable to retain any besides the Landgrave of Hesse; and this prince, surrounded by enemies, was incapacitated to assist her. England, France, and Holland refused to make an open declaration of war against Germany, contenting themselves with secretly wishing

wishing the prosperity of Sweden. Yet, this kingdom, reduced to rely upon its innate strength, commanded by skilful generals, full of zeal for its welfare, obtained frequent advantages over the combined forces of the empire and Saxony. The Swedes, who were actuated by self-defence alone, considered their conquests as the only infallible means of attaining an honourable peace, and they were ready to carry their point, when a gentleman of Pomerania conducted Gallas, one of the imperial generals, with his army, by a private road into that province, which instantly changed the face of affairs ; for by this irruption, the Imperialists were in possession of several considerable places, and acquired a superiority in Pomerania, Saxony, Upper Germany, and Westphalia.

(1638, 1639) These vicissitudes prolonged the miseries of war, and rendered all negotiations so much the more difficult, as each party either over-rated its advantages, or relied too confidently on the assistance of time and fortune. Duke Bernard had collected an army, with which he defeated

defeated the Imperialists several times, dispossessing them of some of their conquered towns. Banier had a conference with him; they adjusted their plan of operation together, these two great warriors agreeing to carry all the fury of the war into the heart of the emperor's hereditary dominions. This is often the only method of reducing a powerful enemy, by giving him cause to tremble for his own country, while distant nations feel the terror of his arms. Banier pursued his purpose to its utmost extent; flying from place to place with such incredible rapidity, that he seemed in a manner multiplied: he fought every inch of ground, and all his engagements were so many victories.

Sweden, by this sudden turn of fortune, regained her superiority, and her generals triumphed in every action: the empire was alarmed, and believed itself incapable to raise an army sufficient to oppose the enemy. Duke Bernard, having already opened a passage into Bavaria, was preparing to invade that territory, when death stopt him in the midst of his career, throwing the affairs

fairs of Sweden again into confusion. Duke Bernardo's army, which was also called Weimar's, was left without a commander ; several powers claimed pretensions of right over it ; amongst others the elector Palatine, who sent deputies to treat with the officers, whilst he himself set out from England, intending to travel through France ; but at Moulins he was arrested, for passing without having asked the royal permission, and conducted, as a prisoner, to the castle of Vincennes : the true reason for this measure was, that the French had formed a design of getting the command of duke Bernard's army into their own hands, in which they at length succeeded ; gaining over, by promises and money, Eriac, the duke's principal officer ; by which means they assumed the disposal both of his army and conquests ; particularly of the city of Brisac, at the same time appointing the count de Guebriant, commander in chief.

Notwithstanding some recent advantages that the Swedes had acquired over the Imperialists, they still found their objections to peace insurmountable ; some great blow
was

was therefore necessary. General Banier, to awaken the ardour of the allies, joined his troops to those of Weimar, Hesse, and Lunenburg, forming by this junction a formidable army, capable of giving law to the enemy, had it been under the guidance of a skilful leader : but the pride of those generals, who equally aspired to that honour, proved the grand obstacle which this army had to subdue ; and, as it always happens on similar occasions, the interest of individuals was preferred to that of the public. These feuds made it necessary to divide again, and act separately.

The lords of the regency in Sweden, remote from the operations of the war, slow in their decisions, and frequently opposite in sentiments, threw a new embarrassment into affairs. From jealousy of authority, they removed all those who were likely to balance it : the queen-dowager could not obtain any share in the government, and saw herself in a manner constrained to fix her residence at the castle of Gripsholm, in the province of Sudermania ; where she was so much discontented, that at length

D

she

she resolved to leave the kingdom. To accomplish her purpose, she had entered into a private correspondence with Denmark; and on finding that king disposed to assist her flight, she embarked in a small vessel to the isle of Gothland, where two men of war were appointed for her guard; in this manner she arrived, and was conducted in triumph into Denmark.

Count d'Avaux and father Bougeant have both considered this queen's elopement as an adventure of gallantry. The count, informing the dutchess of Savoy of the event, relates it in the following terms :

“ A king and queen in the Northern hemisphere, who were separated by an arm of the sea, which served as a boundary to their kingdoms, wished for a nearer alliance: the good intelligence between them commenced by secret embassies dexterously carried on by a witty female who certainly has more address than all our ambassadors. One fine morning, just at the dawn of day, the fair princess, attended only by a knight and a confidant, mounted her palfrey, and by concealed

“ cealed paths through woods and rocks,
 “ arrived on the sea-shore, and passed the
 “ straits in a sorry boat, more courageously
 “ than ever Leander did ! But they had
 “ not sailed far before they were accosted
 “ by an admiral, who received her majesty
 “ on board with a discharge of his ar-
 “ tillery ; publishing thus to the world a
 “ mystery till then so carefully concealed.
 “ The fleet appointed for her reception was
 “ magnificently equipped ; furnished with
 “ most exquisite dainties of every kind ;
 “ and to compleat the gallantry of the en-
 “ tertainment, there was an excellent band
 “ of musick. In this splendid manner the
 “ queen, the widow of Gustavus, has been
 “ conducted to a Danish island, where
 “ Christiern IV. who now may truly be said
 “ to reign happily, is gone to receive her.”

It was the general opinion that the king
 of Denmark flattered his imagination with
 the hopes of bringing about a marriage be-
 tween his son Frederick and queen Chris-
 tina, and with this view assisted the queen-
 mother's escape. She afterwards retired in-
 to the territories of the elector of Branden-

D 2

bourg,

bourg, and remained there till the queen her daughter was of an age to take the reins of government; the senate, in the mean time, allowing her a pension to support the dignity of her rank.

This fugitive princess returned to Sweden in 1648, and made her entry into Stockholm with great magnificence: Christina paid her the compliment of embarking in a little vessel, in order to meet her at Dahlerven; but she was overtaken by a tempest, and with difficulty gained the shore.

(1641.) One of the principal lords of the regency dying in the beginning of this year, the senate referred to the young queen, whose minority was nearly expired, the nomination of his successor; and it had reason to extol her prudence on this delicate occasion, for not shewing the least prepossession, and for preventing every jealous complaint. She wrote to her uncle John Casimir, the prince Palatine, those reasons which determined her against the appointment of Charles Gustavus, his son, in opposition to the ties of blood and friend-

friendship; the principal of which was, that so near an approach to a throne, to which he might have some pretensions, would be apt to kindle apprehensions in the Swedes. Christina ordered a list to be taken of the names of those persons whose birth entitled them to the vacant dignity, and left the decision to chance, which declared in favour of the count de Brahe. Soon after this, the senate invited the young queen to preside in their assemblies; where she discovered great assiduity, quitting with joy her former amusements, to apply her thoughts towards the discussion of the most serious and intricate affairs; surrounded by old sagacious counsellors and profound politicians; enchanting them by the vivacity of her wit, and the penetration of her judgment.

Banier, in the mean time, had attempted an enterprize equally bold and difficult; for, marching at the head of his advanced guard, he approached Ratibon, where the emperor and the states of the empire were assembled: his intention was to attack them by surprize, and so to finish the war

at once, by a sudden and unexpected stroke. The Imperial troops were dispersed in winter-quarters; the Danube was frozen over; so that all appearances concurred to facilitate this grand design: but a sudden thaw stopped the Swedish general at the very instant he was preparing to cross the river; and the large quantity of ice prevented his constructing a bridge of boats. To add to this disappointment, the count de Guebriant withdrew his forces from the Swedes, and retired towards the Maine, in spite of all the arguments and entreaties Banier made use of to persuade him not to abandon him. The alarm was spread at Ratisbon; and as the Imperialists had time to collect their troops, the danger of the Swedes, surrounded by enemies, and menaced with being crushed by their number, was imminent: however, Banier retreated by the forest of Bohemia, whilst the Imperialists, amusing themselves imprudently and inactively at Ratisbon, let the opportunity of revenge escape: the Swedish army luckily gained the passage of Presnitz only half an hour before Piccolomini arrived,

ed, who had marched with the utmost expedition to surprise them, but was obstructed himself, and obliged to retire.

By the death of George of Lunenbourg, the Swedes lost a powerful ally : the administration of that house did not pursue his plan, but consulted their own private emolument more than the general interest of Germany.

The landgrave of Hesse and the count of Schomberg died about the same time ; but no loss was more sensibly felt than that of general Banier. This great man, the pupil of Gustavus, his friend and confident, strongly resembled him in his person, but still more in the qualities of his heart, and the extent and vivacity of his genius. He perfected the art of war by uniting prudence with valour, and the wisdom of counsel with the activity of execution. The plan of his campaigns was admirable ; he seemed to pierce into futurity, and to have the art of preparing and conducting those events that suited his purpose : to finish his character, there never was a citizen more zealous for the glory of his country. In-

experienced as Christina was, she knew, better than all her court, how much the fall of such a general must shake her throne. In a letter to prince Charles Gustavus, she says, "I have just now heard
 " the heavy dejecting news of Banier's illness: they tell me he cannot recover;
 " and people here are little solicitous whether he lives or dies, supposing he can
 " easily be replaced; but such characters
 " are very rare. If Banier dies, our affairs
 " will certainly decline." Those misfortunes which the queen foresaw soon happened; disorder reigned in the Swedish army; the allies were divided amongst themselves; and the Imperialists, making good use of their enemies unsettled state, gained a considerable advantage over them near Quedlinbourg, and recovered most of the principal places in Silesia.

(1642) Leonard Torstenson, who succeeded Banier in the command of the troops, had been obliged by sickness to remain a long while inactive; but, on this general's recovery, he opened the campaign with glory, and distinguished himself by his activity,

activity, and by the rapidity of his conquests.

The Swedes, animated by a chief so vigorous and enterprising, recovered their former superiority; their courage, conducted by prudence, fixed victory beneath their standards: they triumphed in Westphalia, took their revenge near Quedlinbourg, and Torstenfon led them victorious into Silesia, where they regained all those places they had lost: he afterwards defeated the cavalry of Francis Albert, duke of Saxe-Lawenbourg, who had flown to the assistance of the Imperialists, obliging him to surrender himself prisoner; he died of his wounds soon after. Westphalia, Moravia, and Saxony, became successively the theatre of Swedish exploits. The Imperialists assembled all their forces to stop the unbounded rage of this impetuous torrent: the archduke Leopold and general Piccolomini joined their armies, and made a forced march, confiding in the superior number of their troops. The rival nations encountered in a plain near Breitenfeld, already famous by a victory of the great Gustavus.

The action commenced by a furious cannonade, during which it was remarked that the same cannon-ball killed the horses of Torstenfon and two other officers, without wounding their riders.—The Swedes performed prodigies of valour this day; fighting in those fields, the ancient witnesses of their glory! they left dead upon the spot five thousand Imperialists, and made two thousand five hundred prisoners; their own loss not amounting to more than two thousand men. This day, so glorious for Sweden, was succeeded by the surrender of Leipsic, and several great advantages acquired by the troops of Hesse and Weimar, which opened a passage into Cologne and Juliers.

In Christina, just beaming from the dawn of infancy, the sovereign of a flourishing kingdom and a martial nation, the delicate graces of her sex were blended with manly vigour of genius, and all the qualities of a great and sublime soul. The daughter of Gustavus added lustre to the glory of her origin; her merit was even superior to her birth: all these advantages were

were embellished by the splendor of a crown in her own disposal, together with the gift of her hand: many of the young monarchs and princes of Europe became her admirers, ambitious of the glory of captivating this superb heart. The two princes of Denmark, Frederick and Ulric, rivals in love, were the first who aspired to a marriage with the young queen of Sweden: prince Ulric's interest was principally favoured by the queen-mother; but the senate rejected the offer of this alliance, fearing to see a revival of those calamities which formerly overwhelmed Sweden, when under the same authority with Denmark.

The Elector Palatine likewise entered the lists; but none of the competitors had equal reason for hope with the elector Frederick William of Brandenbourg: the great Gustavus had, himself, selected this prince for a husband to his daughter, intending, by so political a union, to augment the power of Sweden in Germany, and join the national conquests to the electoral territories. This marriage, which must have thrown such an additional weight of strength and gran-

deur into the scale of Sweden, was looked upon with jealousy, and even with dread by the different courts of Europe. Denmark and Poland discovered in the elector a dangerous neighbour; the house of Austria was sensible how much its force would be balanced, if not diminished, by the elector of Brandenburg's becoming king of Sweden; France and Italy had cause for apprehension from a Protestant monarch so powerful. Had Gustavus lived, this match would undoubtedly have been concluded, as the first proposition of it raised universal joy in the army and populace; but the regency and the senate now gave it a more remote appearance: they had their own rights and privileges to preserve, which, in their opinion, would have been endangered under the government of a foreign prince. Chancellor Oxensteirn was principally concerned in traversing the elector's wishes: he insinuated apprehensions of this prince's over-running the country with Germans, and bestowing on them the chief dignities and employments of the state. There were yet some other motives which influ-

influenced the conduct of the chancellor; he secretly flattered himself with gaining the public consent in favour of his son Elric; but as the credit of this minister began soon after to diminish, he did not think it prudent to disclose his design.

John, king of Portugal, and Philip, king of Spain, were also among the pretenders to the queen: difference of religion was an insurmountable obstacle to their success, besides the improbability that Sweden would submit to be governed by a king of Spain or Portugal. There was also some reason to believe, that the emperor privately solicited this match for his son the king of the Romans. He apprehended that Christina, fond of titles, and worthy of the greatest, might be flattered with an expectation of one day joining the name of empress to that of queen.

The Spanish agent, Don Pimentel, a skilful insinuating negotiator, who was in great reputation with Christina, endeavoured to accomplish an affair that would aggrandize the power of the house of Austria, by re-establishing the emperor in those German

provinces conquered by the Swedes, and at the same time raise up a new barrier against the power of France; and it seemed as if the Italian count Montecuculi, a general of the Empire, had instructions to gain secret assurances from the queen of Sweden of her own consent, before he acquainted the senate with the principal object of his negotiations.

Don John of Austria was another who aspired to the same honour, as well as Sigismund Ragotski, general and count of Cassovia. The king of France and the queen-mother employed M. Chanut, their ambassador in Sweden, to propose prince John Casimir to the queen; who, after being a jesuit and a cardinal, had ascended the throne of Poland. Ladislaus, elder brother of Casimir, likewise desired this connection, sought after in vain by so many princes; but he was not more fortunate than his competitors.

The queen made use of various pretexts, as motives of her refusal; such as reasons of state, opposition, or difference, in religion, manners, and interests; but the real cause was, that from her earliest youth she
had

had entertained an aversion to marriage ; however, another competitor will soon appear, who seemed to have the best right to hope and obtain the consent of the queen of Sweden.

(1643, 1644.) The Swedes made a sudden irruption into Holstein, and finding the Danes incapable of defence, they, in a short time, made themselves masters of the chief places in that dutchy, subdued all before them, and penetrated even into the peninsula of Jutland. The Danish infantry, consisting of 4500 men, was forced to surrender at discretion : the war raged with fresh fury between these rival nations, and some very smart engagements passed both at sea and land. The Swedes had received a reinforcement of ships from Holland, which gave them the advantage in their naval expeditions, yet no decisive blow was struck. Torstenson pursued the Imperialists with still greater good fortune ; he had so entirely destroyed the troops commanded by Gallas, as to reduce them to 1000 infantry. These sad remains of his once flourishing army, their general, with great dif-

64 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,
difficulty, led back into Bohemia, at the
conclusion of the campaign.

On the 18th of December 1644, Christina, at eighteen years of age, took possession of the reins of government with the usual ceremonies: from that moment she directed the whole machine, and was her own minister; she expedited her orders, and particularized her instructions to the council. "It is incredible, says M. Chanut, "the French ambassador, how powerful " Christina is in the senate! She adds to " her quality of sovereign those of grace, " honour, courtesy, and the art of persuasion; so that the senators, when they " assemble, are astonished at the influence " she gains over their sentiments." No sovereign ever possessed stronger talents, or had a higher relish for the fatigues of the cabinet, at an age commonly dedicated to pleasure and dissipation; the cares of government became her chief occupation, and she " varied her amusements, as she expresses it, by varying her studies."

(1645) Hostilities continued between Sweden and Denmark, though, at the same time,

time, not without some negotiations towards a peace. Christina pressed her chancellor to terminate this great work, and even wrote several letters herself on this subject, which have been preserved as monuments of her policy and consummate prudence. At length this peace, so earnestly desired, was concluded to the satisfaction of Christina, by the zeal of Oxenstern, and the mediation of France and Holland.

The queen demonstrated her grateful acquiescence in the chancellor's negotiation, by bestowing on him a considerable estate, which she erected into an earldom; and, in order to shed greater splendor on the title with which she honoured her minister, composed and pronounced herself the eulogium of Oxenstern, surrounded by the principal citizens of the state! Christina, well instructed in the language, manners, customs, and history, of the Greeks and Romans, had caught the genius of these famous nations, and delighted to imitate their orations. What a noble spectacle for the senators of Sweden! to see, in their assembly, a young queen of nineteen, the daugh-

daughter of the great Gustavus, declaiming with majesty, and rendering a solemn tribute to the merit of a subject !

Grotius, so celebrated for his vast erudition, and for his "*Treatises on the Rights of War and Peace*," had made his escape from the prison where he was confined by the Gomarist faction ; and after experiencing in France, from cardinal Richelieu, both favour and disgrace, took refuge in Sweden under the protection offered him by Gustavus Adolphus. He rose to the highest honours in the reign of Christina, who sent him to the court of France, where he negotiated upon a level with the cardinal minister, who had formerly, as a man of letters, made him feel all the effects of his private contempt, but now was compelled to respect, in Grotius, the character of ambassador, and even to pay homage to his profound politics and peculiar talents for negotiation. The term of his embassy proved to be that of his life, for he died at the very instant Christina had granted him an honourable retreat, with those rewards his merit claimed. The queen wrote to
the

the widow of Grotius, to assure her of her generous protection, and to request a copy of all her husband's works ; testifying, by the highest praises, the great esteem she had ever expressed for his person and writings.

The peace being concluded with Denmark, permitted the Swedes to turn all their forces against the Imperialists. Torstenson crowned his exploits by a new victory over them, which opened him a passage into Austria and Moravia ; when, unfortunately, this great captain saw himself stopt in his glorious career by a distemper which obliged him to ask leave to quit the service ; and Christina, who never omitted an occasion to honour merit, wrote a letter to this illustrious general, giving him the most shining testimonies of her gratitude and admiration. Count Torstenson was worthy of his sovereign's praises, from the importance and success of his services ; it was impossible to possess in a more eminent degree, the art of disciplining an army, of knowing how to command, and how to enforce obedience ; he ruled in a camp, like the father of a family in his house. This
order

68 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

order and subordination, which he so strictly exacted, is what constitutes the principal strength of an army, the prosperity of a campaign, and the honour of a general. Marshal Turenne studied the military science under this Swede; and the French hero confessed it was to him he was indebted for that excellent discipline he afterwards introduced, and maintained in his own army.

(1646, 1647) Charles Gustavus Wrangel, who had already distinguished himself, particularly in the last expedition against Denmark, was appointed general of the Swedish armies. Wrangel supported the glory of his nation; he advanced towards the Weser, and in his march took possession of several important places. He concerted with Marshal Turenne the plan of his campaigns; and these two great captains, acting in constant intelligence, obtained many signal advantages over the Imperialists and Bavarians. The emperor, alarmed with the uninterrupted success of the Swedes, came in person to animate the troops by his presence; his army was encamped upon
an

an eminence in the neighbourhood of the city of Egra, in such a disposition, that a river only separated it from the Swedes. Wrangel, at the head of some squadrons of horse, spread an alarm in the enemy's camp, and pierced almost to the emperor's tent, with a design to seize his person. The life-guard who held the watch were killed ; but the Swedish detachment being soon surrounded, the emperor had time to save himself ; and Wrangel, after losing a great many men, retreated with much difficulty. The Imperialists, quickly finding themselves straitened in their camp, and in want of provisions, began their march, winding their course on the side of the Upper Palatinate, but were constantly harrassed by the Swedes, who pursued them in detached parties, finding it impossible to force them to a general engagement, notwithstanding their vast superiority of numbers, and the advantage of fighting on their own territories.

One day, at the celebration of divine service, in the chapel belonging to the castle of Stockholm, Christina being present, attended by the principal lords of her court, a
frantic

frantic wretch attempted to assassinate her. This man was preceptor to a college, and in the vigour of life: he chose the time when the congregation was at confession, and darting through the croud, threw himself over a balustrade, beyond which the queen was kneeling. Count Brahe Drotset, the grand justiciary, called aloud to the guards, who instantly formed a barricade with their halberts to oppose him; but, striking them with violence, he leaped over the barrier, and, in an instant, was so near her majesty, as to aim a blow with a drawn knife concealed in his sleeve: she, in avoiding the stroke, leaned against her master of the horse, who immediately threw himself upon the assassin, and caught him by the hair; all this was but the work of a moment. As this poor creature was known to be a lunatic, and consequently to have no accomplices, he was only ordered into strict confinement: Christina returned to her prayers; the pressing danger she had so narrowly escaped, excited no emotion visible to the eyes of the spectators, who appeared much more terrified than herself.

This

This young queen was enamoured with all heroic characters; regarding with particular attention all those warriors who were distinguished in the career of honour amongst the most polished nations; and, as if she had been established the sovereign judge of glory, made it an indisputable duty to distribute proportions of it with her own hand, according to the merit of the candidates. In her early reading, she had imbibed a singular taste for chivalry, which still warmed her imagination with a passion for the recital of lofty deeds of valour. The great Condè was always her favourite hero, or rather her knight. Under the title of duke of Enguien, he was already celebrated for intrepidity, and the whole train of military virtues: Christina sent him a letter, by her ambassador, exalting to the highest degree the great qualities he possessed, and the victories he had gained, particularly that near Nortlingen, over the troops of Bavaria.

About this time count Magnus de la Gardie was appointed ambassador to France: this nobleman was son to the constable

stable of Sweden ; and by espousing the princess Maria, cousin to Christina by the father's side, became allied to his sovereign. His grandfather was a Frenchman of moderate extraction. " The count de la Gardie
 " (says Madame de Motteville, in her Me-
 " moirs) was a genteel figure, had a lofty
 " mien, and all the appearance of a distin-
 " guished favourite. He talked of his
 " queen in language so passionately re-
 " spectful, as plainly indicated there was no
 " injustice in suspecting that the tenderness
 " of his affection exceeded what the duty
 " of a subject requires." He was em-
 ployed in this embassy to France, to pro-
 cure an alliance between that court and
 Sweden ; he met with a very honourable re-
 ception, and was highly pleasing to the mi-
 nistry. Well-informed what influence this
 lord had over the mind of the queen, they
 hoped, by moulding him to their purpose,
 to manage this negotiation with so much
 dexterity, that the pretensions of Sweden
 should be sacrificed to the interests of
 France in the approaching peace. Car-
 dinal Mazarin was not deceived in his ex-
 pectation ;

pectation ; he acted like a refined politician perfectly acquainted with the secret springs of courts, and the infallible methods to insure the success of a treaty.

Adler Salvius was another person whom Christina raised to an eminent degree of favour ; he was descended from very indigent parents, but had been distinguished, from his youth, for uncommon political talents, and a genius for ministerial affairs : he was chancellor to the crown, and the queen appointed him her second ambassador at the congress of Paris, in order to balance the weight of John Oxenstiern, the grand chancellor's son ; opposing that powerful family, too imperious in its demands, and setting too exorbitant a value on past services. The queen writes to Salvius, " I exhort
" you to hold that unruly horse with a tight
" rein, for fear he should leap over the
" pole." Ministers, whose interests were so incompatible, could not possibly accord in their sentiments. Salvius, adhering to the queen's instructions, was vehement for a peace ; Oxenstiern, on the contrary, fore-

E

seeing

74 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

seeing that his power and the war must have the same conclusion, created a thousand difficulties to retard it. Christina was jealous of every encroachment on her authority, and industriously studied to humble those who had hitherto enjoyed the principal direction of affairs, bestowing her confidence on new ministers formed by herself, whom she had the satisfaction of finding docile and submissive to her will. The secret instructions drawn by this young queen, in her letters to Salvius, are evidences of the refinement of her understanding, as well as of that fortitude and independency of character, which unfolded itself by degrees through the progress of her life.

The conclusion of a peace was still farther retarded, by the disagreement that subsisted between the French plenipotentiaries the counts d'Avaux and Servien: the first was supported by the queen-mother; the second by cardinal Mazarine. The peculiar esteem Christina had for the count d'Avaux induced her to address him frequently, to know his opinion of the schemes
she

She was forming for public utility, and to consult him in points that regarded her private interest.

The count de Servien, favourite of the prime minister of France, was to be more artfully managed. "It is essentially necessary (says this princess to Salvius) that I should maintain a perfect intelligence with Monsieur de Servien; for you are to consider him as the cardinal's creature. I am thoroughly acquainted with the manners of the French, and know that the greatest part of their politeness consists in unmeaning compliments; yet, as nothing is lost by civility, I think it always best to repay them in their own coin." From this letter, it is evident how attentive this young queen was to every duty of royalty, examining the minutest circumstances, studying the characters and manners of nations, fathoming the depth of genius in foreign ministers, and working upon their virtues and defects, to accomplish her designs. Peace was the darling object of all her speculations. Born in the midst of the troubles of war, perpetually

agitated by the daily vicissitudes of fortune, and the tumult of arms, this princess experienced the impossibility of pursuing the plan of a wise administration, in so tempestuous a season : the whole extent, therefore, of her actions and designs tended towards the restoration of peace and tranquility to Europe.

(1648) The ambassadors from Sweden, and from the major part of the Protestant states, held a congress at Osnaburg ; whilst the plenipotentiaries of the Empire, France, Spain, and Holland, together with the Pope's nuncio, and the ministers of most of the Catholic princes, assembled at Munster. The contracting parties made choice of different places, to avoid the difficulties of precedence that would have attended their mingling together ; but it was, at the same time, stipulated that the treaties concluded in both these cities should be ratified in the same manner as if concluded in one. There is no instance of a more solemn, or important assembly. The plenipotentiaries of almost all the powers of Europe, on this occasion, displayed the most consummate know-

knowledge that refined policy could suggest ; but there were so many jarring interests to conciliate, that their negotiations were left unfinished for many years ; to which the want of harmony among the principal ministers did not a little contribute.

During this period the French, under the command of marshal Turenne, joined with the Swedes in supporting the reputation of their arms against the Imperialists. The city of Prague had fallen into the hands of the Swedes by the treachery of a lieutenant-colonel whom the emperor had disgraced. The city was laid under contribution, and several persons of distinction were amongst the prisoners. Charles Gustavus, duke of Deux Ponts, of the Palatine branch of Bavaria, was commander in chief of the Swedish troops, and gave signal proofs in Germany both of valour and experience. This young prince had learned, in company with marshal Turenne, the art of war under the celebrated Torstenfon : he was nephew to the great Gustavus, and, of course, first-cousin to Christina. Flattered by the hope of gaining the heart of the young queen,

E 3 he

he made his appearance at the court of Sweden; but finding in her an insurmountable passion for independency, as well as an invincible aversion to the marriage-state, he despaired of making any impresson on her sensibility, and therefore returned to the army. A constant series of success, that attended the Swedish arms, rendered Christina sole arbitress of the peace; and this blessing, so ardently wished for, was at last granted, and a termination put to the war in the month of October 1648. By this treaty, there were ceded to the crown of Sweden the perpetuity of all the Nearer Pomerania, the isle of Rugen, Stettin, and some other places in the Farther Pomerania; the harbours of the mouth of the Oder, Wismar, the archbishopric of Bremen, and the bishopric of Verden, besides the payment of five millions of crowns, to indemnify that kingdom for the expences of the war. The interests of France were not forgotten in this treaty, for Christina was attached by inclination to that people, and would not conclude any articles that were not satisfactory to her allies. This
peace,

peace, therefore, which had been negotiated by the ablest statesmen of the times, was regarded as the political code of that part of Europe.

Christina attributed the honour of this great work to her chancellor and favourite Salvius: she thought the most agreeable recompence she could bestow, was to raise him to the rank of a senator, which is regarded in Sweden as the most distinguished dignity. “When the point in debate (says the queen, in her speech to the senate) is concerning good advice and wise counsel, no one enquires whether the adviser has sixteen quarters in his coat of arms, but whether he has laboured for the welfare of the state. Salvius is deficient in no qualification but nobility of birth, and he may esteem it an advantage to his character, that the world can tarnish it with no other reproach; the capability of my ministers is of the utmost importance to my government.”

This minister took his seat among the first noblemen of Sweden; the protection of his sovereign, and the services he had

done his own country, and even all Europe, were the titles that adorned him.

By the diligence of prince Charles, generalissimo to the troops, the treaty of peace was executed immediately after it was concluded; for he would not disband his forces, till the Swedes had obtained entire satisfaction in every article of the agreement.

(1649, 1650) The states, seeing the public tranquillity restored, thought to ascertain their happiness by soliciting the queen to select from among the princes that adored her, one worthy of the title of her husband, and the king of her people; they presented to her the national wishes in favour of prince Charles Gustavus, for whom, of all her admirers, the queen expressed the most inclination, or rather the least aversion. In reality, when Christina was very young, she had, sportingly, promised to marry this prince, and ever after maintained an intimate connection with him, giving him testimonies of particular esteem; which indeed he merited from the accomplishments of his mind and heart, the graces
of

of his person, and the military reputation he had acquired.

To this let it be added, that Gustavus was born and educated in Sweden; two points which seemed to give him a superior right of expectation over those foreign princes who sought the honour of possessing the crown and hand of Christina. But, too lofty for subjection, this princess constantly disdained all the homage that ambition and love were capable of offering; and she was confirmed in her principles of independency by her favourite Magnus de la Gardie, who more than once dissuaded her, when she was on the point of yielding to the intreaties of the senate, and, what was more prevalent, to the natural dictates of her heart, in favour of prince Charles. This favourite feared that the queen's marriage would diminish his credit: he flattered himself that in time he should rule the nation under the sanction of her authority; but his scheme vanished, and disgrace overtook him when he thought only of dominion.

Christina finding it requisite to answer the repeated and pressing solicitations of the

states by a final decision, replied in these words: "The nomination of a prince worthy to succeed me in the throne, and support with dignity the glory of the government, will give me the highest satisfaction. Marriage is uncertain in its consequences; insist upon it no longer; the chance is equal, whether I may curse the world with a Nero, or bless it with an Augustus." The result of this declaration was a meeting of the senate, and the deputies of the states, in which they offered fresh but ineffectual remonstrances to the queen. Finding themselves obliged to submit to her determination, they, in pursuance of her desire, confirmed the election of prince Charles Gustavus as successor to the throne of Sweden; who immediately assumed the title of royal highness, taking an oath to the queen, that both himself and his descendants would render her entire obedience and service, as their lawful sovereign: that he would never undertake any affair of importance relative to the administration, but with the knowledge and approbation of the queen and senate, and by the power and

and command of her majesty : that in case of his accession to the throne, he would maintain all the orders of the kingdom, and every particular subject, in their rights, privileges, and liberties.

This election was followed by the queen's coronation, which was celebrated at Stockholm with an extraordinary magnificence, equal to the lustre of her reign, and the glory that Sweden enjoyed. When the ceremony in the church was ended, the queen ascended a sumptuous car drawn by four white horses; whilst her treasurer scattered before her medals of gold and silver amongst the populace. Possibly Christina was desirous to emulate the Roman triumphs, and renew the memory of that splendid pomp in the eyes of the beholders, which was formerly the reward of heroes crowned with victorious laurels. Undoubtedly the arbitress of the peace of Europe, who imposed laws on so many warlike nations; merited as well the honour of a triumph! On this occasion chancellor Oxenstern observed, that as Christina was the first of the female sex who had reigned in

84 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

Sweden, she ought to be regarded and treated like a monarch; and ever since that epocha the reigning queen of Sweden, at her coronation, is always proclaimed *king*.

(1651, 1652) France was now agitated by domestic troubles, and exposed to all the horrors of a civil war. Cardinal Mazarine, who presided at the helm of government, ruled with a violence of authority that occasioned a revolt amongst all orders of the state, the parliament, and the princes of the blood. This prime minister was powerful and bold enough to imprison the prince of Condé, the prince of Conti, and the duke of Longueville. These events were interesting to Christina: she wrote to the king of France, to persuade him to endeavour the re-establishment of tranquility in his dominions; and when her hero, the great Condé, recovered his liberty, she did not forget to congratulate him upon it: these are some of her expressions. “Cousin, I may venture to affirm, that amidst the public joy, and amongst that variety of persons in France attached to your interest, few have experienced greater satisfaction than my-

“ myself at the restoration of your liberty.
 “ I am so much interested in whatever con-
 “ cerns the advantage and repose of your
 “ country, that I could not conceal my
 “ joy when I heard the prison doors were
 “ unbarred, and the chains unshackled from
 “ those hands that had fought and con-
 “ quered in so many fields ; an event which
 “ will immortalize the glorious and success-
 “ ful regency of the queen my sister.”

The misfortunes of France continued, and Christina persevered in employing her mediation to terminate them : her zeal for the interest of a nation she sincerely loved would not allow her to neglect any method instrumental to restoring its quiet ; she addressed the queen-mother, the princes of the blood, cardinal de Retz, the duke of Longueville, the parliament, and Mademoiselle de Montpensier, on this subject ; and even commanded her ambassador in France to treat, in her name, with the opposite parties, and endeavour to reconcile their dissensions. But it was only in general terms that the queen could represent the evils of discord, and exhort them to peace ;
 it

nated, whilst the profusion of the court increased. Christina was unbounded in her benefactions, and was resolved to purchase friends and partizans at the expence of the state, having already formed her project of resigning the weight of government entirely into the hands of the hereditary prince. Chanut, the French ambassador, was the first person who penetrated the queen's design of abdicating the throne.

He represented to her majesty the inconveniencies attending such a step, with great freedom and strength of argument; omitting no inducement that might persuade her to abandon a proceeding so extraordinary: but she remained steady in her resolution, and soon afterwards imparted it to the grand marshal, and to the chancellor of Sweden; enjoining them to communicate her intention to prince Charles, and engage him to come and take possession of the government.

Charles Gustavus was remarkable for the moderation of his character: all his wishes for the crown were concealed under the veil of prudence; he lived retired at a country house

house in the Isle of Oeland, where he passed his time in hunting. He sometimes came to Stockholm, but never resided there long; and was particularly careful to have no connection with those in the administration: at the same time he neglected no circumstance capable of attracting the affection and esteem of the people.—When he was informed of the queen's determination, he shewed no eager desire to ascend the throne she offered him; but, remaining in his retreat, wrote to the senate to make use of every effort to prevail with their sovereign not to relinquish the government of a kingdom which, during her reign, had continued so flourishing and glorious; he also protested to Christina, that he should ever retain for her the most profound submission, entire obedience, and inviolable fidelity of a subject, without desiring the possession of any other rank.

This resistance, whether sincere, or merely political, served still more to stimulate that desire the queen had entertained for a private life. She convoked the senate, and informed it, "That after having deliberate-
"ly

“ly reflected upon an affair of so great im-
 “portance, she was convinced her abdica-
 “tion would be the best means of securing
 “the safety of the state, and the repose of
 “her people ; that as the resolution she had
 “taken, never to marry, was irrevocable,
 “the prince, when once he was declared
 “king, would find himself under a necessity
 “to chuse a princess ; and that the birth of
 “heirs to the crown would dissipate in the
 “nation the apprehension of misfortunes
 “that but too frequently accompany the
 “election of a king.”

The principal senators made use of all
 their eloquence to prevail with the queen
 to alter her resolution ; but finding her con-
 stantly unshaken in her sentiments, they re-
 ferred the point in deliberation to the as-
 sembly of the states. However, Christina,
 after receiving new remonstrances from the
 nobles, and the deputies of each distinct or-
 der, appeared to yield to the united wishes
 and prayers of her people. She promised
 to continue their sovereign, on condition
 that they declined speaking to her of mar-
 riage. This proposition was received with
 shouts.

shouts of applause, and prince Charles was not deficient in testifying to the queen his unfeigned satisfaction ; adding, “ It was his
 “ prayer to the Almighty, that her majesty
 “ might survive him ; and assuring her he
 “ never would accept of the crown whilst
 “ she lived.”

Christina, nevertheless, secretly persisted in her original purpose, as she told the French ambassador in confidence, and meant in reality nothing more than to defer the execution of it. The people, believing there was no more cause to fear the retreat of a sovereign whom they loved and esteemed, gave themselves up without restraint to the pleasure of those feasts which were celebrated in honour of the queen’s birthday. All the young nobility came to signalize their skill and address before the eyes of their sovereign, in tournaments, running at the ring, pitching the bar, and other sports. The queen presided, and distributed with her own hand prizes to the victors ; she was delighted with the revival of these martial games, attended with all that magnificence described in the ancient poems
 and

and romances : in the evening they performed figure-dances, and Christina herself bore a part in these amusements.

The public joy was interrupted by an alarming accident. Christina, at four o'clock one morning, went to see the fleet lately built by her direction in the port of Stockholm; when, walking unguardedly with admiral Fleming over a plank laid across some of the ships, his foot slipped, and he drew the queen along with him into the water, which, at that place, was above thirty fathoms deep. By good fortune, Anthony Steinberg, equerry to the queen, plunged into the sea so instantaneously, that he caught hold of the bottom of her robe, and, with the assistance of several other persons, raised her by the arm, and saved her life. Christina had recollection enough at that moment, to desire they would assist the admiral : she expressed not the least emotion, and dined in public the same day, relating this adventure with an air of satisfaction. Intrepidity of soul was the characteristic of the daughter of Gustavus; there was something martial in her manners as well

as.

as her person. She had a masculine strength of genius, and delighted in the most abstruse and intricate studies.

The illustrious Blaise Pascal was ambitious of this queen's approbation. He sent her his machine called the *Roulette*, which may be considered as a master-piece of genius. His present was accompanied with a letter, in which he extols to an uncommon degree the merit and reputation of this princess: nothing but his own words can convey an adequate idea of the strength of his expressions on this occasion. "You reign (said he), incomparable
"princess, in a manner till now unexam-
"pled; your genius captivates all those
"who have not submitted to your arms.
"You may reign by the right of birth,
"for a long series of years, over many
"flourishing provinces; but by the power
"of merit you will reign, whilst the world
"endures, over the utmost extent of its
"boundaries. For my part, not having the
"blessing to be *born* under the first of your
"empires, I desire all mankind should
"know, that I esteem it my glory to *live*
"under the second: And it is in order to
"make

“ make this public testimony, that I pre-
 “ sume to lift up my eyes towards my so-
 “ vereign, offering her this first proof of my
 “ allegiance.” In this manner Christina
 kept a correspondence with the most cele-
 brated geniuses in Europe; frequently antici-
 pating their intention to address her, by pre-
 sents and letters. For favours like these
 the muses were not ungrateful: Never was
 a sovereign so celebrated as she was, in al-
 most every ancient and modern language.
 The men of letters, who are generally ex-
 cessive in their homage and their commenda-
 tions, exhausted the sources of metaphor
 and hyperbole to find incense for their sa-
 crifices. Many of the most eminent fo-
 reigners were induced by the invitations
 and bounty of Christina to repair to her
 court, where they were held in as great
 consideration as philosophers formerly were
 in the palace of the emperor Julian. This
 princess dedicated only five or six hours to
 sleep. She employed part of the day, and
 often entire nights, in abstruse and deep
 reading, and in conversation with the men
 of learning that surrounded her. Every
 thing that bore the scientific stamp of an-
 tiquity

triquity excited her wishes : she commissioned several scholars to purchase ancient manuscripts, scarce and valuable books, in every language ; curious collections of medals, antiques, and pictures of inestimable value. The sums expended in these articles were immense, introducing great disorder in her finances for the gratification of this *Bibliomania*. By force of money, and indefatigable industry, she acquired in a short time the most rare and uncommon curiosities that could be collected in all arts and sciences.

Bochart, in a Latin epigram composed in honour of Christina, draws a comparison between her and the queen of Sheba : he finishes it thus : “ The desire of instruction
“ instigated the ancient queen to leave her
“ country to listen to Solomon ; but now
“ the story is reversed, for the wisest men,
“ from all parts of the globe, come to enrich
“ themselves with the inexhaustible
“ knowledge of the modern queen.” *

- * Illa docenda suis Salomonem invisit ab oris ;
Undique ad hanc docti, quod doceantur, eunt.

Def-

Descartes, who was the glory and light of the age he lived in, suffered himself to be seduced by the charms of honours and rewards, to quit the calm life of a philosopher in exchange for the bustling perturbation of a courtier. Christina met him constantly in her library every morning at five o'clock, in order to converse with him free from interruption. She remarked in him a depth and extent of genius, and therefore consulted him as well upon affairs which interested herself, as upon those of a public and political nature; she discovered, however, but a small inclination for philosophy, her mind being already pre-occupied by the study of the languages and authors of antiquity: her predominant passion was for scholastic erudition. The Greek writers were her greatest favourites; and she was so fond of their language, that she used to have Greek comedies acted in her palace. The arrival of Descartes caused great jealousies among the scholars at the court; in so much that they formed a cabal against that great man, endeavouring to prejudice him in the queen's opinion; and their machinations

chinations succeeded but too well in diminishing the esteem and confidence with which she had favoured him. It is a humiliating observation on human nature, that the more reason is superior, and the more it is enlightened by learning, it seems to become only an easier prey to all those trifling imbecilities which agitate vulgar minds. Descartes was too much a philosopher to exercise his genius in caballing, but not sufficiently so to be insensible to the attempts of malicious envy, and, as he confesses in one of his letters, to the cold reception the queen gave his new system and his philosophical precepts. He was seized with a violent fever and inflammation in the lungs, which hurried him to the grave in three days. This philosopher had been scarcely two months in Sweden. It was suspected he was poisoned; but the true poison that occasioned his death was the change of climate, and of his method of living, added to his principal disease, discontent of mind. A report prevailed, that this philosopher was so indiscreet as to assert that his first pupil, the princess Palatine,

F

had

had greater sagacity and penetration in abstract sciences and mysteries of philosophy than Christina. The queen was so sensibly offended by this preference, that she was incapable of dissembling her dissatisfaction and jealousy, which became a fresh subject of trouble to Descartes. Christina had formed a plan for the establishment of an academy of sciences in Sweden, under the inspection and government of Descartes; but his death rendered the scheme abortive for the present. However, the discoveries he had made gave rise to a new school of philosophy in Sweden, and in other polite parts of the world, where the genius of this eminent man seemed to preside, and by degrees to abolish the errors and absurdities of the ancient scholastic opinions.

(1653) Saumaïse, the famous critic, was in the highest estimation with Christina; she gave him an apartment in the palace, that she might see and discourse with him on points of literature more commodiously. In an illness, which confined him to his bed, she made him frequent visits; and one day, entering unexpectedly, he concealed,

ed, with precipitation, a book he was reading, which out of respect to her majesty, he was unwilling she should see. Christina insisted on knowing what it was; Saumaïse confessed that he was reading some tales rather too light for her approbation. The queen opened the book, and run it over, smiling at some free passages she met with; and after, by way of diverting herself, said to her favourite, the countess of Sparre, who understood French, "Come, Sparre, come and see this curious book of devotion, entitled, The Method to attain — here, read me this page." The fair countess had not read above three lines, when shocked at the licentiousness of the style, she blushed, and was silent; but the queen, laughing immoderately, commanded her to go on; modesty was an insufficient excuse; it was an indispensable duty in this lady to read every thing her sovereign thought entertaining.

Saumaïse stayed in Sweden a year, and then returned to Leyden. The queen loaded him with presents, and continued a literary correspondence with him, and, after

his death, still honoured him, by affording an asylum to his widow and children. Sau-maise employed his interest with the queen in recommending to her favour the son of a French barber, whose name was Michou, though he afterwards adopted that of Doctor Bourdelot. This man had a diverting lively wit, sung, and played on the guitar agreeably, and possessed some of the talents of a courtier, particularly the art of pushing his fortune with the great, by rendering himself necessary to their pleasures ; but being neither a scholar, nor a man of science, he artfully made it his business to insinuate to Christina, that so indefatigable an application to study might endanger her health, and bring on some dangerous distemper : besides, her exalted rank, as well as her sex, demanded other pleasures and employments ; that it was sufficient to adorn her mind with general knowledge, which she might acquire by skimming lightly over the surface of science ; and that it only appertained to professors of the different branches of literature to dive into the bottom of things, and examine all their constituent

quent parts : he went farther still ; for, by exposing the men of learning about the court to the most poignant raillery, he turned erudition itself into ridicule. Meibomius had composed a treatise upon the music of the ancients ; and Naudè had written upon the Greek and Roman dances ; compositions which had been much admired by Christina, till, by the persuasion of Bourdelot, she obliged these famous elucidators of antiquity, in order more effectually to enforce their opinions, to realise them by uniting practice to theory. Nothing could be more insipid, or extravagant, than to hear Meibomius, with a weak trembling voice, singing Greek strophes ; or to see Naudè's clumsy, unwieldy step in the execution of a Roman dance ! The gay part of the audience were much diverted with beholding the embarrassment of these celebrated writers, though it was a cruel and ungenerous diversion which dishonoured the partakers : but this was not the only insult Bourdelot was guilty of in Sweden. His sarcastic raillery spared neither dignity, nobility, nor even religion. The queen-

mother complained to her daughter of the insolence of this unworthy favourite, but received from her nothing but severe and afflicting replies. Christina suffered herself to be entirely guided by the advice of this *agreeable ignoramus*, as she used to call him: she was immersed in dissipation, and commended this new scheme of life. Bourdelot had the address to remove from the court, Naudé, Vossius, Bochart, Heinsius, Courtin, and all those competitors whose influence he feared. He had gained such an entire ascendancy over the mind of Christina, from an idea that to him she was indebted for her health and happiness, that he became the dispenser of all court-favours, and even attained to such an height in the queen's opinion, as to rival count Magnus de la Gardie, and occasion his disgrace. The nobles, enraged at the overbearing insolence of this foreigner, contrived to render his conduct suspected at the court of France. He was accused of betraying the interest of his country, and of entering into a close connection with the ministers of Spain and Denmark. Christina received incessant remonstrances.

frances against her favourite ; he was loaded with the public hatred, and its murmurs extended even to the person of royalty. She at last determined to remove from Sweden this source of discord, and Bourdelot was sent into France ; but the queen still honoured him with fresh proofs of her confidence, by the secret affairs entrusted to his discretion and management : he carried away large sums of money, and presents to a considerable value ; circumstances that farther spoke the existence of his credit and favour : but no sooner was Bourdelot absent, than he was forgotten. Christina, who always acknowledged his understanding to be false and superficial, blushed at the thought of having suffered such a man to seduce her judgment ; she absolutely hated him at last, and never mentioned his name without contempt. Bourdelot obtained an abbey from cardinal Mazarin, and fell, after his disgrace, into a terrible melancholy ; languishing out his gloomy days in misery. The adventures of these men of intrigue have generally an unhappy catastrophe.

104 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

Christina returned to her studies with redoubled ardour, because she had interrupted them in opposition to her natural taste. Her example raised a spirit of emulation in the kingdom ; through her encouragement the sciences and fine arts flourished, and to her Sweden owes its glory and taste for rational pleasures. This nation, once famed for martial excellence alone, acquired a reputation in letters. The queen gave considerable benefactions to the university of Upsal, and founded that of Abo ; she established seven colleges for the study of literature, and instituted an academy of belles lettres at Stockholm. The desire of polishing the manners, and of conveying instruction to her people, was undoubtedly one of the motives that engaged Christina to assemble at her court the most famous scholars in Europe. It must also be allowed that she was extremely sensible of the satisfaction, and still more so of the personal honour, that the arts and sciences procure those who cultivate and protect them. The ambition of the queen was to acquire universal fame in the literary world ; and report says, that
she

She understood eleven languages; could converse in several with fluency; and write elegantly in every polite modern tongue: Greek and Latin were more familiar to her than to any scholar of the age. She held a correspondence with Basilides king of Abyssinia, having been informed that this Ethiopian monarch professed christianity, and loved the sciences. Christina's peculiar pleasure was the conversation of men of letters, particularly the French wits, her contemporaries: she also courted the acquaintance of women of celebrated genius; was the friend of the countess de Bregi, and of the marchioness de Guebriant. This lady accompanied princess Maria de Gonzagues into Poland, on her marriage with Uladislaus the VIIth, under the character of ambassadress extraordinary.

The famous count Magnus de la Gardie, who had enjoyed all the consideration and favours of fortune, now perceived he had irrecoverably lost the esteem of Christina his sovereign and benefactress. Availing himself too much of his credit with her majesty, he was guilty of indiscretions in discourse

that she never would pardon, notwithstanding he was her relation, being brother-in-law to prince Charles Gustavus. In order to justify his own conduct, the count endeavoured to involve some other persons in the court; but the queen enjoyed his confusion, commanding the lie to be given him in public, by those persons he had accused in private. The same hand that elevated him to the summit of earthly grandeur, precipitated him into the lowest state of abasement. There is almost always an abyss at the feet of Fortune, which but few of her favourites can escape.

Immediately after the fall of this favourite, Scudery, a French writer, requested permission to dedicate to Christina his poem called *Alaric*. The queen promised the poet her protection and favour, on condition that he erased from his work the eulogy of the count de la Gardie. Scudery replied, "He never would destroy the altar on which he had sacrificed;" and from that moment dropped all solicitation. The only reward bestowed on so noble a proceeding was admiration. It had been worthy of
Christina

Christina to have recompensed it more generously, as the sole means of repairing the shame of such a request.

Radziejowski, vice-chancellor of Poland, and count Ulfeld, one of the principal Danish nobles, were both fallen into disgrace at their several courts: banished from their own country, they sought an asylum in Sweden, which the queen granted them, with all the honours due to their birth and rank. Radziejowski imputed the origin of his misfortunes to a passion his wife had inspired in the king; but the ambition of this Pole, and the good intelligence he maintained with those Cossacks who were enemies to the state, were the real causes of his sovereign's indignation against him. Afterwards, in the reign of Charles Gustavus, he headed an army against his countrymen, but being a man of a turbulent disposition, and a bad heart, he was convicted of treason to his benefactor: the king ordered him to be loaded with fetters, and kept him in prison the remainder of his reign. After meeting with a variety of disasters, Radziejowski returned to Poland, and was sent

F. 6

from

from that court into Turkey, in quality of ambassador, where he died. Count Ulfeldt was still more guilty, and more unhappy.

Sweden was now become one of the most formidable powers in Europe; every nation eagerly desired to strengthen itself with her alliance. When Poland, very imprudently, attempted to renew its former pretensions on the crown of Sweden, so often contested; so often abandoned, Christina made this answer to the Polish ambassadors:

“ Since the most solemn treaties and decrees are deemed insufficient titles, prince Charles shall prove, immediately, by the testimony of thirty thousand men under his command, that he has an incontestable right to the crown I chuse to fix upon his brow!” These words were realized by the rapid conquests this prince made over the Poles in the first years of his reign: differences were at length accommodated by a treaty of peace signed at Oliva, 1660.

About this time arrived ambassadors from England, France, Holland, and Denmark, to negotiate their distinct interests at this court. England had lately exhibited to
man-

mankind the horrible spectacle of a king dethroned, proscribed, condemned to death, and executed upon a scaffold by his own subjects ! Cromwell, the Machiavilian contriver of so detestable a revolution, in assuming the title of *Protector* of his nation, became its *Oppressor* ; overturned the fundamental laws of the kingdom, sunk the parliament into contempt, and, with the rod of despotism, governed a people who boasted of their liberty, at the instant they were trembling under the hand of a tyrant ! Cromwell, omnipotent in England, sent ambassadors to all the European courts, and had the satisfaction to see sovereigns treat with him on terms of equality ; acknowledging the legality of that title and authority so inhumanly usurped. Christina was one of the first who formed an alliance with the Protector, consulting in this step the advantage of her nation. Charles II. king of England, who had taken refuge in France, implored her assistance. She wrote to him thus :

“ The degeneracy of the times renders
 your misfortunes irremediable ; and I
 think

110 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

“ think it my unhappiness to be incapacitated
“ from giving you any assistance. You will,
“ undoubtedly, have the goodness to per-
“ mit your friends to take care of their own
“ interests, when they are convinced how
“ impossible it is to be of service to your’s.”
And this queen’s example was imitated by
the principal powers of Europe.

Count Montécuculi, ambassador from the
emperor, and Pimentelli, the Spanish mi-
nister, were then in high reputation at the
court of Sweden: the latter persuaded the
queen to interpose in the electoral intrigues
for the nomination of the son of the Emperor
Ferdinand III. to the dignity of king of the
Romans. Montécuculi was honoured by
Christina with the order of *Amarantbus*, insti-
tuted by her majesty at the conclusion of a
splendid entertainment, where the court re-
presented an assembly of the gods on mount
Olympus, Christina bearing the name of
Amarantha, or immortal. She was magni-
ficently seated on her throne, when the
knights and ladies destined to receive the
order, made their entrance; after taking
the oath customary on such occasions, they
were

were presented with a robe of silk, and the badge of the order, adorned with gold and jewels. This badge was a cypher, describing two A's, interwoven in gold embroidery, in the midst of a laurel crown, encircled with a ribband, and this motto, *Dolce nella memoria*; the whole ornamented with diamonds. The knights wore also about their necks the symbol of the order, enriched with diamonds, and fastened to a crimson ribband. One of the principal engagements entered into by these knights, was, that those who were batchelors took an oath never to marry, and those who were already married, swore never to marry again.

(1654) Christina, from the first moment she resolved to resign her crown, supported the weight of government with impatience. She languished for private life, as a state of freedom which alone could render her happy. State affairs fatigued her by their uniformity. She exclaimed, on seeing her ministers approach, "Ah! must I always be tormented with hearing the same thing?" Another time, perceiving two of her secretaries

112 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

aries bringing some dispatches for her to sign, she said to the hereditary prince, with whom she was talking, " When will you
" disentangle me from these people? I
" dread the sight of them, as I do that of
" the Devil " A mind like her's, accustomed to wander over the fields of science, and range amongst the flowers of literature, could not occupy itself with the cares of the administration, without discovering evident tokens of indignation and lassitude.

She was more affected by the embarrassing anxieties inseparable from royalty, than sensible to the honours which accompany it. Her native soil to her appeared too comfortless an abode, and too rigorous a climate ever to become an asylum for the polite arts. She wished to live to herself, and not to the world, in a more delightful country, far from the hurry of business and the vicissitudes of fortune. This natural disgust was connected with some reasons of policy, and even of necessity. The glory of Christina's reign was in the zenith; it could receive no farther augmentation; on the contrary, all circumstances threatened an

an approaching decline. The exhausted revenues of the crown ; the nation eagerly desirous of a king ; the queen's unalterable resolution neither to marry nor divide her authority ; the different orders of the state making continual efforts to aggrandize themselves at the expence of the sovereign power ; those nations that were either the rivals, or enemies of Sweden, longing for an opportunity to appear again in arms ; all confirmed Christina in her inflexible determination. Besides, her opinion was, that women ought not to reign. “ I am so thoroughly convinced of it (says she, in the “ memoirs of her life) that if I was to “ marry, I would cut off the right of succession from my daughters ; for certainly “ it is incumbent on me to prefer the interest of my people to that of my children ; “ and it would be betraying the former, to “ suffer the sceptre to pass into the hand of “ a woman. My sentiments ought to enforce conviction, because I speak in opposition to my particular advantage. But “ I profess a strict adherence to truth, even “ at my own expence. For a woman to “ acquit

THE HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

“acquit herself with dignity in the duties
“of a throne, whether she governs in her
“own right, or as regent, is almost an im-
“possibility. The ignorance of women, their
“imbecility of soul, body, and understand-
“ing, render them incapable of government.
“My own experience has severely taught
“me that the imperfection of sex is the
“greatest of all imperfections!” Yet, her
own example, and the so much celebrated
administrations of Elizabeth of England,
and Catherine of Russia, added to two very
illustrious reigns in the present age, those
of Elizabeth Petrowna, and the Empreiss-
queen of Hungary, seem to plead against
the infallibility of these reflections.

The real fact was, that Christina looked
upon the resignation of a throne, in order
to dedicate her life to an enquiry after truth,
at an age when ambition and the passions
are most ardent, as the highest effort of he-
roism. Monsieur Chanot, her first confi-
dent in this design, hearing of her perseve-
rance, endeavoured once more to dissuade
her from it. The queen vouchsafed to un-
fold to him those motives which fortified her
reso,

resolution. The following letter may be considered as a manifesto, in which she expands her soul, and gives a full justification of her conduct. It would be injuring so curious and important an original to abridge it in this place :

“ In our former conversations I explained
 “ to you, says she, those reasons which still
 “ induce me to persevere in my design of
 “ abdicating the throne. You will recollect
 “ how much this idea haunted me, and that
 “ eight years of deliberate reflection have
 “ preceded its execution. It is at least five
 “ years since I acquainted you with my intention, and I then discerned, that sincerity of affection, and the interest you
 “ take in my fortune, were the sole motives
 “ of that resistance you opposed to reasons
 “ you could not condemn, whatever pains
 “ you took to weaken their influence. I
 “ observed with pleasure, you could find
 “ nothing in my project unworthy of Christina; and you may likewise remember
 “ my words the last time I had the satisfaction of talking with you. Nothing
 “ that has happened within this long space
 of

116 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

“ of time has been able to shake my resolu-
 “ tion. All my actions have been regulated
 “ on this plan, and conducted to this end ;
 “ and I now find the conclusion of my part
 “ draws near, and that I shall soon drop the
 “ curtain. It is incomprehensible to me,
 “ that a life which requires a masculine
 “ strength and vigour of mind can ever be
 “ pleasing to a woman ! Every one enjoys
 “ the privilege of judging as his rea-
 “ son directs ; I cannot deprive mankind
 “ of that liberty, nor would I, were it in
 “ my power. I know how few there are
 “ who will think favourably of this action,
 “ but I am well assured you are one of that
 “ number. The world is ignorant of my
 “ motives, and either little acquainted with,
 “ or misinformed of my character and dis-
 “ position ; those motives I never declared
 “ but to yourself and another friend, whose
 “ soul is noble and elevated enough to think
 “ in the same manner ; *sufficit unus, sufficit*
 “ *nullus* : I despise the rest ; and shall do
 “ the multitude great honour if I think
 “ them ridiculous enough to laugh at.
 “ Those who examine my conduct by the
 common

“ common maxims of mankind, will un-
 “ doubtedly blame me ; however, I shall
 “ not give myself the trouble of composing
 “ a vindication : in the total retreat from
 “ business which I now meditate, there will
 “ be no idle moments to throw away on
 “ such remembrances. My chief employ-
 “ ment will be to examine my past life,
 “ without regretting I have lived ; and to
 “ correct my errors, without being astonish-
 “ ed at their multiplicity. What delight
 “ shall I taste in reflections upon the blef-
 “ sings and rewards I have bestowed on the
 “ good ; and on having punished, without
 “ commiseration, those alone who were in-
 “ corrigible in wickedness ! I shall enjoy
 “ the sweet consolation of never having
 “ suffered prejudice to mislead me to con-
 “ demn the innocent ; nay, I have even
 “ spared the guilty when their crimes would
 “ admit of mercy ! The prosperity of
 “ my people I always preferred to every
 “ other consideration ; I have, indeed, sa-
 “ crificed every thing to their interest. Ir-
 “ reproachable in the administration of go-
 “ vernment, I possessed it without pride or
 “ ambition,

118 HISTORY of CHRISTINA,

“ ambition, and I shall resign it with ease
 “ and satisfaction. After this delineation of
 “ my sentiments, you have nothing to fear
 “ for me. I am in a state of security, and
 “ my felicity is beyond the reach of for-
 “ tune. Undisturbed by all sublunary
 “ events, I am and shall be happy :

Sum tamen, ô superi, felix ; nullique potestas
 Hoc auferre Deo.

LUCAN.

“ Yes, I already feel a superior degree of hap-
 “ piness to any other mortal ; of happiness
 “ eternally durable ! You speak to me of
 “ offending Providence. I have no cause
 “ for such an apprehension ; *omina sunt propi-*
 “ *tia*. Whether Providence vouchsafes to
 “ direct the events of my life, or leaves me
 “ to the conduct of my own reason, I shall
 “ pay implicit obedience to its divine will,
 “ and endeavour to employ those faculties
 “ of mind and understanding bestowed on
 “ me by its goodness, in the pursuit of hap-
 “ piness ; nor shall I miss the road, because
 “ I am justly persuaded my actions
 “ have neither incurred the anger of men,
 “ nor

“ nor the wrath of Heaven. The remainder
 “ of life shall be spent in rendering these
 “ thoughts familiar to my soul, in acquiring
 “ magnanimity, and in regarding, from my
 “ peaceful harbour, the distress of those who
 “ are perpetually agitated by the stormy
 “ blasts of a tumultuous busy life, for want
 “ of an early application to the search
 “ of truth. I never before was in a situa-
 “ tion to be envied; and the mistaken
 “ world might now have cause to behold me
 “ with jealous eyes, were it thoroughly ac-
 “ quainted with my happiness. You ~~has~~ ^{never}
 “ love me too well to envy me; and I deserve
 “ it, for being so ingenuous as to confess I
 “ have imbibed part of these sentiments
 “ from you. They arose from your con-
 “ versations, and I hope one day to culti-
 “ vate them farther with you in my retreat.
 “ I am confident you will not break your
 “ engagement, nor cease to be my friend in
 “ this change of fortune, since I quit no-
 “ thing that has a claim to your esteem.
 “ Whatsoever state I am in, my friendship
 “ will remain inviolable, and I will con-
 “ vince you, that no vicissitude can ever
 “ happen

“happen powerful enough to alter those sentiments I make it my glory to avow.”

Christina had a delicate part to act with the members of the senate on this occasion, to prevent any opposition to her scheme of abdication, and to persuade them to assign her some considerable revenues in those provinces of which she wished to retain the sovereignty, altho' she intended to leave the kingdom. From these considerations, previous to the smallest hint of her project, she augmented the number of her senators, and advanced in dignity those persons whose attachment to her interest she could rely on; she likewise removed her library to Gottenburg, with her collection of pictures and statues, and all those rarities which her taste for the arts had tempted her to collect, at an immense expence, from all parts of the world. The Swedes beheld with discontent the removal of those treasures of their industry, whose purchase had exhausted those of the state; but they did not dare resist the will of a Queen whom they loved, and whom they feared to lose. After these steps, she convened the senate in the city of Upsal,

ap-

QUEEN OF SWEDEN. 121

appeared in the midst of the assembly, and declared her purpose of summoning the states-general, in order to execute that irrevocable resolution formed so many years past, of abdicating the throne in favour of prince Charles Gustavus. She added, that this was not an affair she recommended to their consideration, but one she commanded obedience to as their sovereign, and concerning which she forbade all kind of remonstrances.

The senate, notwithstanding her injunctions, made recent applications to the queen, and sent repeated deputations to beseech her not to abandon a people of whom, through the course of her reign, she had been the glory and delight. Oxenstiern came also to present a memorial in the name of the several orders of the state, wherein he deliberately examined the solidity of those reasons which ought to engage her majesty to keep possession of the throne; taking the liberty to predict, that she would one day regret, when it would be too late, dispossessing herself of royalty. Charles Gustavus united his voice to that of the na-

G

tion,

tion, representing to the queen, that she was accountable to her people for the exertion of those eminent talents and qualifications which Heaven had endowed her with to promote their happiness, and which it would be criminal in her to circumscribe in the contracted circle of private life.

By way of a general answer, Christina pursued more closely and ardently the execution of her plan : she negotiated with prince Charles on the conditions preliminary to her resignation ; demanding a revenue of 24,000 rixdollars, for the payment of which some unalienable funds were to be assigned. Another article was the reservation of full power over some particular territories, with liberty to sell or mortgage them, provided it was only to Swedes. In case the prince palatine should leave no heirs, the queen insisted that the reversion of the crown should be settled on the count de Tott, her favourite, an amiable nobleman, who traced his origin from Eric XIV. king of Sweden. Christina attempted to create him a duke, proposing to honour, at the same time, count de Brahé,
first

first senator, and the grand chancellor Oxenstiern, with the same dignity. But the two last comprehended extremely well that the design of associating them with her favourite, was intended by the queen to colour and cement in a stronger manner the aggrandizement of the count de Tott: they therefore refused to accept a title which had hitherto been only conferred on princes of the blood, and would have been burthensome to the nation. "It is only (said they) our virtues and our services that can
"elevate us above the rank of our fellow-
"citizens; these are the only honours that
"excite our ambition, and that we wish to
"communicate to our posterity!"

Christina went to Nikoping to take leave of the queen her mother. Sending for the prince of Sweden, in his presence, and before the whole court, she addressed her thus:
"I am going, Madam, to resign my crown,
"but I beg you not to be inconsolable on
"this account: For though you will be
"deprived of a daughter, you will, as a
"compensation, find a son in your king,
"who will always treat you with every

“ mark of respect and attention you could
 “ desire.” She then bid her adieu with the
 steadiest resolution : but the queen-mother
 melted into tears, and the spectators of this
 affecting scene accompanied her grief.

The time appointed for the meeting of
 the diet being now arrived, the states as-
 sembled at the city of Upsal on the 21st of
 May. The foreign ambassadors and er-
 voys were invited ; when the queen opened
 the assembly with the following speech :

“ During a period of ten years that I have
 “ governed this nation, I have sacrificed all
 “ things to its interest ; I have spared nei-
 “ ther cares nor vigilance to procure that
 “ domestic and foreign repose which this
 “ kingdom now so compleatly enjoys. As
 “ the grateful reward of all my enterprizes,
 “ I demand your consent to my abdication ;
 “ I have absolutely resolved to retire ; no
 “ consideration, no power on earth can alter
 “ my purpose. The prince, whom ye have al-
 “ ready acknowledged for my successor, is
 “ adorned with accomplishments and abili-
 “ ties that render him deserving of a throne.
 “ Such a monarch has a natural right to go-
 “ vern

“vern the martial Swedes! I have generosity
 “ enough to bestow this present on my
 “ country, and it ought to enhance the va-
 “ lue of the sacrifice I this moment make
 “ to its welfare, above all my past ser-
 “ vices.”

Her majesty ordered a manifesto to be delivered to each respective order of the realm, containing a circumstantial detail of the motives of her abdication. The states still repeated their endeavours to divert her from her resolution; but she silenced them with these words: “ Could ye add another
 “ crown to this I now wear, I would not
 “ continue my administration beyond the
 “ limited time.” It now, therefore, became necessary that the states should yield their consent to the queen’s resignation in favour of prince Charles; ceding to her, by way of appenage, the isles of Oeland, Wollin, and Usedom, with the city and castle of Wolgast, and several manors in Pomerania and Mecklenbourg; all together producing a revenue of 24,000 rixdollars; but they refused to grant her the sovereignty of these countries, as being contrary to the interest

of Sweden; for Christina would by that means have been impowered to bestow them on a foreign prince.

The senate would have insisted on the queen's residing in Sweden, had not prince Charles interposed, and observed to them, that she paid too high a price for liberty to suffer any constraint: besides, it was for the interest of the new monarch, and of the kingdom itself, that Christina should withdraw from amongst them, lest her inclination should lead her to form a party and excite domestic troubles; if at any time she became discontented with the administration, or was tempted to remount the throne. Just before her abdication, Christina surprised Sweden by an unexpected act of authority. She commanded the Portuguese resident to leave the kingdom, treating the duke of Braganza, whose minister he was, as the usurper of a dominion which appertained to Philip IV. of Spain. The queen had not communicated her intention to any of the senators; yet, as she had admitted the ministers of Portugal to be present at her coronation, and even contracted an alliance

ance with John IV. their king, it seemed impossible she would ever so palpably contradict her own actions! Prince Charles and the senators gave secret information to the resident to remain at Stockholm, assuring him he should receive proper satisfaction for this affront so soon as the act of abdication was signed. Christina's motive in this affair was to oblige the king of Spain, her first thoughts being to retire into the Spanish Netherlands. At length the day of abdication, so eagerly wished for by Christina, and so much dreaded by all Sweden, arrived. On the sixteenth of June, 1654, about seven o'clock in the morning, the queen entered the senate-house, attended by the hereditary prince: she there ordered the act of abdication to be read, and then signed it. By this act she renounced for ever all rights and pretensions to the crown of Sweden, as well for her posterity as herself, ceding them to her cousin prince Charles Gustavus, appointing him her successor, on condition that he maintained her during life in the uninterrupted possession of those estates granted her by title of ap-

penage: she stipulated, that in what regarded her person she should be totally independent, freed from the obligation of performing any act of subjection or obedience, and privileged to be accountable to God alone for her past conduct and actions; and likewise for her future undertakings; at the same time engaging never to take any step prejudicial to the interests of Sweden. Lastly, she reserved unlimited power and entire jurisdiction over her great officers, as well as the inferior domestics of her household. The hereditary prince gave particular assurances to Christina of securing her in the possession and enjoyment of the revenues of those lands she had reserved as her own property. He engaged to defend her in all her rights, and protested he would incessantly acknowledge her generosity, and, throughout his life, have an invariable regard to her interest. After these acts were read over and signed, the great officers of state dressed Christina in her royal robes, and placed the crown on her head: in her right hand she held the sceptre, in her left the globe, the grand marshal and the grand treasurer

treasurer bearing before her the sword of state and the gold key. In this sovereign pomp the queen proceeded to the great hall in the castle, where all the orders of the kingdom, the foreign ministers, and ladies of the court, were assembled. The queen ascended three steps, and placed herself on a throne of massy silver, under a magnificent canopy; her grand chamberlain and master of the horse standing on each side; the hereditary prince sat in a chair of state at the right hand of the throne, but not under the canopy.

This disposition being settled, one of the senators read the act of abdication aloud, by which Christina voluntarily resigned the crown, and released the people from their oath of allegiance. After this act was delivered to the prince, the same senator read the engagement by which the prince obliged himself to maintain Christina in possession of those rights and revenues she had reserved; he then presented it to the queen. The great officers of state now approached the throne to receive the insignia of royalty from the hand of the queen, laying them

G 5 upon

upon a table on the left side, without the canopy. It was observed that count Peter Brahé Drotfel, grand justiciary of Sweden, would not lift the crown from the head of the queen, and that she was forced to take it off herself. When these ceremonies were finished, Christina, divested of her royal robes, appeared in a plain dress of white sattin; she advanced to the foot of the throne, and spoke half an hour with equal eloquence and magnanimity. In this speech she recapitulated all the events of her reign; she described the plan of her administration in the most difficult and dangerous times, and, with great art and strength of expression, set forth the merit of those cares and fatigues she had endured for the glory and felicity of Sweden. She enumerated the obligations the Swedes were under to their late king Gustavus Adolphus her father, and expatiated copiously on the virtues of the prince her successor, which were prognostics to the nation of a prosperous and happy reign. Many of the spectators were softened into tears at the sight of a queen, in the flower of her age, who appeared

peared to them more than ever worthy of the throne she quitted with so much fortitude. Several caught hold of her royal robe, and tore away pieces of it, desirous to preserve some relick of their beloved sovereign ! The grand chancellor Oxenstiern refused to perform any of the functions of his office ; publishing in this manner his disapprobation : “ I am obliged, by the
“ oath I have taken to my king, Gustavus
“ Adolphus, (said this minister) to transmit
“ and to maintain the crown on the head
“ of Christina his daughter : it would be a
“ treasonable crime in me to give my con-
“ currence, either directly or indirectly, to
“ an act which so irrevocably excludes her
“ from the government.” The senator Schering Rosenhave represented the chancellor on this occasion ; he made a speech to the queen, in the name of the states of the kingdom ; when he had concluded, Christina descended from the throne, presenting her hand to the chiefs of the four orders.

Lord Whitlock, the English ambassador, who was present at the ceremony, reports,

G 6

that

“ that when the grand marshal and the speak-
 “ ers of the three first orders had finished
 “ their orations, the speaker of the order of
 “ peasants approached, and kneeled before
 “ the queen in eloquent silence, seized her
 “ hand, pressed it to his knee, and kissed it
 “ three or four times; then bursting into
 “ a flood of tears, he rose, turned away his
 “ face, and disappeared as suddenly as he had
 “ entered. Was it possible (says this au-
 “ thor) to express with more ingenuous and
 “ beautiful simplicity his own affection, and
 “ the love of the order he represented?
 “ To behold the queen of a powerful na-
 “ tion, a young queen ! surrounded by per-
 “ sons of the first rank and consequence in
 “ the kingdom, assembled, to the number
 “ of at least a thousand; to hear her speak
 “ with so much grace and dignity on a
 “ proposition so uncommon in its nature,
 “ was (adds lord Whitlock) a truly extra-
 “ ordinary and singularly affecting scene.”

The queen, having received the ad-
 dresses of all the orders, advanced towards
 the prince her successor, and paid her com-
 pliments in a sublime and pathetic dis-
 course,

course. To which Charles Gustavus replied, " That his heart would for ever be
 " penetrated with the deepest and most
 " lively sense of gratitude ; and that he
 " would never be unmindful of that respect
 " and attention which inclination as well as
 " duty pointed the observance of towards her
 " majesty and her royal house."

The prince then made a speech to the senate, and the different orders of the kingdom, and received assurances from them of fidelity and obedience. Gustavus, as Christina relates, received the crown upon his knees, from her hand, and never afterwards appeared with it in her presence.

Christina commanded the day of her abdication to be celebrated as a public festival. She set all the prisoners at liberty ; even such criminals as were under condemnation.

The same day the prince was crowned and proclaimed king of Sweden. There was a medal struck, on his accession, with this device ; The king seated on a throne, receiving the crown from Christina, who is standing ; in the centre is the name of God, encircled with rays ; the inscription, *à Deo*

et

134 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,
et Christinâ; “I hold the crown from God
“and Christina.” This motto was displeas-
ing to the states, who pretended to appoint
the new monarch entirely by their own free
act and choice; the right of election being
solely vested in them.

Christina, impatient to enjoy that liberty
she had purchased at the price of a throne,
departed from Stockholm, between eleven
and twelve at night, at the conclusion of a
magnificent entertainment, taking the road
to Upsal: she would not even rest in this
city so soon after her abdication; and an-
swered the intreaties of one of her officers,
not to fatigue herself so much; “I have
“finished my part, and will not stay to be-
“hold another reign in cities where I have
“been sovereign.”

Some dexterity was yet required to manage
the populace, who wanted the queen to re-
main in Sweden; and were under appre-
hensions of seeing her treasures and reve-
nues transported to other climes. To de-
ceive them she hired a house at Stockholm,
and appeared to intend residing there: she
stayed in her new habitation only five days,
pre-

pretending illness, for which she chose her physician should recommend the Spa waters, to give her a pretence to leave the kingdom. The king expecting she would go to Germany by sea, ordered two men of war to be fitted out at Calmar for her conveyance; but as her schemes were different, she excused her acceptance of this offer, by the uncertainty and danger of the voyage; and set out for Helmstadt, in the province of Halland, where she remained four days, and then travelled to Cullen. Here she resolved upon a strange metamorphosis; and jocosely said, "Now I will be a man!" Quitting her female apparel, in order to travel with the greater ease, she put on the dress and appearance of a young nobleman, with the title of the count de Dohna, son to a nobleman of her train, whom, with three others, count Steinberg, baron Soop, and another lord, she retained in her service; all ignorant what part of the world they were going to. She sent back all the ladies who attended her.

When they came to a small stream on the frontiers of Sweden, which separated this

this kingdom from Denmark, the queen quitted her coach, and crossed over to the other side; when jumping ashore with agility, she cried out, in a transport of joy, "I am free at last, and out of Sweden! where I hope never to return."

Whatever precautions Christina had taken to travel undiscovered, Fame, excited by the singularity of her character and actions, was the harbinger of her approach. The queen of Denmark, informed that the daughter of Gustavus, who fled with such impetuous eagerness from her country and her throne, was in her kingdom, assumed the disguise of a woman of ordinary condition, in order to get a sight of this celebrated princess. Our illustrious traveller had taken up her abode at an inn, when the queen arrived, and had the pleasure of conversing with her: It is even reported that, extending her curiosity too far, she had no reason to applaud herself for engaging in a conversation, in which Christina very freely explained her sentiments of the Danish court.

King

King Charles Gustavus had intrusted one of his principal officers with the care of conducting his benefactress to the frontiers of Sweden, after once more making her an offer of his crown and hand ; but Christina replied ; “ Can it be imagined that I so soon repent, and am already weary of “ freedom and independency ? No, simple “ liberty is more valuable than the most “ splendid bondage ! ” There is little doubt that Charles really loved the daughter of Gustavus, if her account is to be credited, written long after her abdication ; that his majesty said, in the presence of several persons of quality of both sexes, “ Christina “ has seated me on a throne ; she has given “ me a wife ; but she has refused me the “ glory of calling her mine ; and has made “ me unhappy all my life : nothing can afford me consolation ! ” This princess was eager to give the prince of Condé the first intelligence of the step she had taken. By so heroic an action she expected to merit a higher degree of admiration from her hero. “ I estimate, says she, all my glory by your “ approbation, and consider myself as “ much

138 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

“ much honoured by your esteem, as by the
 “ crown I inherited. If the resignation of
 “ it sinks me in your opinion, I must con-
 “ fess the tranquillity I have so ardently
 “ sought, will cost me dear; yet I cannot
 “ repent the purchase even at that price;
 “ for I will never tarnish an action, which to
 “ me appears noble, by an inglorious and
 “ despicable repentance.” Before Chris-
 tina relinquished the government, she had
 presented the French academy with her
 portrait; and afterwards wrote her thanks
 to that society for their honourable recep-
 tion of it; adding, “ I have always de-
 “ monstrated my peculiar regard for your
 “ academy, because I was always an admirer
 “ of polite learning; and am not appre-
 “ hensive you will have less affection for
 “ me in solitude, than when when I was
 “ seated upon a throne. In that scene of
 “ uninterrupted leisure I have planned, the
 “ cultivation of the belles lettres will be my
 “ study; a consideration that induces me
 “ to believe I shall sometimes be favoured
 “ with a sight of your compositions, which
 “ are equal to the academy’s reputation,
 and

“ and are almost universally written in your
 “ native language ; a language which will
 “ soon become a principal amusement in
 “ my retirement.”

She also sent the celebrated Gassendi a medal fastened to a chain of gold, and the assurance of an annual pension ; thus, in every instance, making it her favourite occupation to honour merit, and encourage genius.

The true motive of this queen's abdication will always remain a problem difficult to solve. To behold a young princess, adored by her people, admired by all nations, who governed her kingdom with consummate wisdom, presided with constant assiduity in her senate, and was endowed with all the knowledge of a finished politician : to behold her crowned with victorious laurels ; triumphant over all her enemies ; arbitress of the peace of Europe, and benefactress to its principal nations : to behold her in opposition to the reiterated intreaties of a kingdom aggrandized by the success of her arms, and embellished, by her indefatigable cares, with the splendid
 appear-

appearance of arts and sciences: I say, to behold her at last eagerly abandon so many blessings, is a circumstance equally singular and astonishing. Sweden had never enjoyed, in any reign, so large a portion of glory and happiness. By the queen's extensive application and encouragement, commerce flourished, industry was excited, and genius awakened in her subjects; she stamped fresh spirit and vigour on the laws, respected merit and virtue; and, it may be truly affirmed, traced the model of a perfect administration. Her mind, exercised from early youth in profound and difficult studies, so far from being wearied with their multiplicity, seemed in a manner to enjoy the perplexing fatigue of state affairs: it was their regular progression which principally occasioned that lassitude and disgust she complains of.

M. Chanut, the French ambassador, who was one of Christina's chief confidants, and, in her own words, one of her friends, has given a description of this queen, which undoubtedly resembles her, and of which the reader may be curious to see the principal

cipal outlines : “ Christina (says he) was
 “ rather low in stature ; had a high fore-
 “ head, aquiline nose, large piercing eyes,
 “ with yet a peculiar sweetness of counte-
 “ nance ; her voice was rough, her air
 “ masculine, and her affections were so
 “ strongly painted on her face, that her fea-
 “ tures varied according to the different
 “ passions of her soul : she disliked the or-
 “ namental part of dress ; frequently wore
 “ men’s shoes ; with a hat and feather ; pre-
 “ ferring the habit of an Amazon to the
 “ more delicate apparel of the female sex.
 “ Christina slept little, was fond of exer-
 “ cise, and discovered much pleasure and
 “ dexterity in the management of her
 “ horse ; she would keep the field ten hours
 “ successively in parties of hunting, ex-
 “ posed to the inclemencies of the weather,
 “ supporting with equal unconcern all its
 “ vicissitudes. Glory was her element ! her
 “ heart swelled with impatience to pursue
 “ it. Her idea of virtue was truly sublime,
 “ and in her manner of reasoning on its na-
 “ ture, she copied the Stoic philosophers.
 “ The discussion of problematical points
 was

“ was a diversion to her mind ; and, in the
“ most interesting affairs of government, as
“ well as in those of simple amusement,
“ whenever she disclosed her sentiments,
“ instruction enlightened the faculties of all
“ who heard her. With what inconceiv-
“ able ardour did she fly to every branch of
“ literature ! History was her constant
“ study ; and part of every day’s employ-
“ ment was to read some passage in the an-
“ nals of Tacitus, which she called the game
“ of chess, signifying that this author fur-
“ nished ample materials for thought and
“ reflection. This princess used to say it
“ was not in the power of any event to
“ disturb the tranquillity of her soul ; and
“ that death itself inspired her with no
“ greater terror than sleep. Indefatigable
“ in application, her cognizance extended
“ to every department of the administration.
“ The ambassadors of foreign powers
“ transacted all their negotiations immedi-
“ ately with the queen ; who frequently
“ answered their addresses at a public au-
dience,

“dience, without the least premeditation.”

What pity such universal talents for government had not sufficient influence to retain Christina in that elevated situation, where a great and generous soul can dispense so many blessings on mankind! But an enthusiastic passion for liberty seduced her far from her country.

On her arrival at Hamburgh, she stayed some days at the house of Texeira, a rich Jew, who had formerly been her factor and agent. In whatever cities she passed thro', the magistrates waited on her to pay their respects, and treated her with all the homage due to crowned heads. At Munster she visited the Jesuits college, and was present at divine service; leaving a benefaction of an hundred ducats. The report of her arrival being spread among the people, she left the city early the next morning, continuing her journey through Holland, till she came to a merchant's house at Antwerp, where she resumed her female dress, and received visits and compliments from persons of the first distinction. At Brussels

Christina made a splendid entry. The arch-duke Leopold was admitted to her presence, with the ceremonies that his birth and rank entitled him to. The prince of Condé insisted on the same honours at his interview, which the queen refused to grant; and however strong her desire was to converse with her hero, she refused to indulge it till some formalities were settled. One day the prince slipped into the queen's apartment, amongst the crowd of courtiers; "There is no resisting one's curiosity (says he) to see a princess who can abandon a crown with so much ease, whilst the rest of the world are at war with each other in pursuit of the glittering phantom all their days, without ever attaining it!" He was desirous of contemplating her person unobserved; but Christina fixed her eyes upon him, knew him from the resemblance of his picture, and expressed her eagerness to receive him in a distinguished manner. The prince, finding he was discovered, instantly retired. The queen sent for him back: he said to her, "Madam, all or nothing;" and went out. Some days

days after they met again, as if by accident, but were discontented with each other, and their conversation was reserved and languid. “ Cousin, (said Christina) who “ could have believed that, after ten years “ desire to see each other, we should meet far “ from our own country in this manner?”

The clergy and other orders of Sweden now began to apprehend that the daughter of Gustavus not only designed to fix her residence in a foreign kingdom, but also to change her religion. They employed the count de Tott to make proper representations in the name of the whole nation, and endeavoured to persuade this princess to return into her native country, and not reject the principles and opinions of the king her father, and those of the state. This lord at the same time presented her some letters addressed to foreign courts. Christina disdained these recommendations, saying her birth and name were sufficient introductions every where. In regard to the disquietudes of the senate and people, she answered, “ That “ the throne was the only situation where “ she could appear in Sweden; and as the
H “ nation

“ nation had permitted her to descend
 “ from it, the senate had no longer power
 “ to prescribe the place of her abode, nor
 “ restrain her liberty. Besides, added she,
 “ the Swedes are governed by a monarch
 “ whose prudence and valour are the gua-
 “ ranties of a wise and glorious admini-
 “ stration; and as I have made the greatest
 “ of all sacrifices to the good of my coun-
 “ try, and can be of no farther utility to it,
 “ I intreat that my pleasure and repose
 “ may remain undisturbed.”

The queen invited M. Chanut, who was
 then at the Hague, as ambassador to the
 States-General, to make her a visit: He so-
 licited, and obtained his master's consent,
 and likewise a passport from the arch-duke
 Leopold. This interview, in which Chris-
 tina's only intention was to expand her soul,
 and reveal to her old friend all the schemes
 of private life she had planned, had, in the
 eyes of Europe, the appearance of a political
 step to carry on a negotiation for reconciling
 France and Spain, which were then at war.
 The rumours that were propagated on this
 occasion displeased the court of Versailles.
 M. Cha-

M. Chanut met with some reproaches; and for his justification, produced the letters which had passed in his correspondence with the queen; he also prevailed with her to testify that their conversations turned only on particular subjects, which were merely personal. Christina, in her strict observance of truth, inadvertently discovered some partiality for the court of Spain, and little complaisance to that of France, which disobliged the latter power. The king of Sweden disclaimed, on this occasion, all agreement of sentiment or politics.

The apprehension that Christina intended to change her religion, was not ill-grounded; she had long revolved this purpose in her own mind. Anthony Macédo, a Jesuit, who came into Sweden in the Portuguese ambassador's retinue, was the original author of this design. The queen, curious to investigate every thing, desired to see some skilful theologians who were capable of instructing her in particular difficulties. Macédo had a secret commission to bring over some of the most learned missionaries; and to accomplish his scheme, this Jesuit

requested leave of the ambassador to return, on pretence that the climate was too cold for his constitution ; but not obtaining it, had recourse to flight. The queen suspecting his motive, favoured his escape. Macédo went to Rome, and prevailed with the head of his order to depute father Francis Malines and Paul Cassati for this enterprize ; who came over to Sweden, and were the instruments of Christina's resolution to abjure the Protestant religion. She executed this design at Brussels, on the 24th of December, in the arch-duke's cabinet, with the assistance of father Guesmes, a Dominican, and in the presence of several ambassadors and ministers of Catholic princes. This spiritual and religious ceremony was succeeded by a singular contrast of worldly festivity and rejoicings. Cardinal Mazarin complimented the queen on her conversion, and sent a sett of comedians to Brussels, who performed theatrical pieces, alternately, in a variety of languages. Balls, hunting-matches, and tournaments, rapidly succeeded each other ; and it did not appear that Christina intermixed any large share of devotion

votion in an act which ought solely to have engrossed her attention. She wrote at this time to the countess Ebba Sparre, one of the ladies of her court, whom she esteemed and loved the most: “ I receive at Bruffels
 “ (says she) a thousand honours ; I am on
 “ terms of civility with every body, except
 “ the prince of Condé, whom I never see but
 “ at court or the theatre. My chief em-
 “ ployments are to eat well and sleep well;
 “ to study a little, chat, laugh, see French
 “ and Italian plays, and pass my time in
 “ agreeable dissipation. To conclude, I
 “ hear no more sermons, and utterly despise
 “ all orators. As Solomon says, all wis-
 “ dom is vanity : every one ought to live
 “ contentedly, eat, drink, and be merry.
 “ Adieu, fair one ! remember your Chris-
 “ tina.”

The queen's religious opinions were very free, as her conduct and conversation sufficiently prove. On being told that the Jesuits of Louvain said, when she became a Catholic, they would place her in the list of saints, next to St. Bridget of Sweden ; she replied with vivacity, “ I should be much

H 3

“ better

“ better pleased with my company if they
 “ placed me amongst the philosophers.”

There is reason to believe Christina's principal inducement to this conversion was her desire to spend her days in Catholic countries, and to be on good terms with the pope, and other sovereign princes, who might grant her an asylum, and indemnify her for the loss of her Swedish revenues, undoubtedly foreseeing they would not, and indeed could not, always continue regularly paid.

In a letter to the king of Sweden, Christina reminded him of the engagements between them, entreating him to persuade the states to consent to her retiring where she pleased; as her absence, if not necessary, was at least a matter of indifference to the nation. She endeavoured likewise to convince the count de Brahé, first senator, of the truth of this assertion, expressing herself in the following manner: “ In
 “ the present state of affairs, I think the
 “ welfare of my country, as well as the
 “ laws of decorum, point out the propriety
 “ of my absence; and I cannot help be-
 “ lieving

“ lieving it even necessary to the public repose, that I should no more be seen in a country where I have formerly reigned.”

A taste for pleasure, fondness for the arts, and love of liberty, were the real inducements that detained Christina in distant kingdoms. She resided some time at Brussels, and had a crowded circle of accomplished nobility and men of letters; these flocked from all parts to pay their duty to her as their lawful sovereign. She invited Menage to come and see her, telling him, “ That as she had travelled far the greater part of the journey to meet him, she thought her esteem and affection particularly merited his performing the rest, and giving her his company.” But Menage excused himself.

The gaiety at Brussels was interrupted by news of the death of the queen-dowager of Sweden. Christina retired into the country for three weeks. The widow of Gustavus could not behold her daughter descend from the throne of her ancestors, without feeling the most poignant sorrow,

H 4

which

152 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,
which imbittered and shortened her days. The grand chancellor Axel Oxenstiern died about the same time: his death, like his life, was mild and serene; accompanied with the grateful esteem and regret of his country, after being many years its support, its oracle, and its glory! His last enquiry was about Christina; and he expired with these words, "I told her she would repent her resignation:—But—still, she is the daughter of the great Gustavus!"

The moment of repentance that the chancellor predicted was not yet arrived: Christina enjoyed the first hours of her liberty with transport. She made the necessary dispositions for a journey into Italy, thinking to fix her habitation at Rome; the centre of the polite arts, and of all the wonders of antiquity; blest with a delicious climate, where sportive nature is lavishly prodigal of her riches. Cardinal Chigi, a great admirer of this princess, was raised to the pontifical chair by the name of Alexander VII. another inducement for her to reside in that noble city.

On

On leaving Bruffels, she made magnificent presents to the arch-duke Leopold, and several lords of his court. She was attended with a grand retinue, and, in passing through Augsburg, they conducted her to the chief magistrate's house, and shewed her the spot where Gustavus Adolphus rested. The queen contemplated it some time in silence, her eyes fixed on the ground, shedding tears to the memory of her father. In the cathedral of Inspruck, she made a public renewal, with the utmost solemnity, of her belief in the Roman Catholic religion. The pope appointed Lucas Holstenius (a canon of St. Peter's, and keeper of the Vatican library) to receive her confession with the customary ceremonies; he was a learned Hamburger, and a late convert. Christina's abjuration was succeeded by a variety of public diversions; even on the evening of this act of devotion, a comedy was represented, where (if the very improbable relation of M. Chevreau is to be credited) the queen was present, and said to her attendants, "It is but reasonable they should entertain me with a co-

H 5

"medy

“ medy to-night, when I have so highly
 “ entertained them with a farce this morn-
 “ ing !” She certainly could never be
 guilty of this piece of imprudence to ridi-
 cule an action which, from the advantages
 she hoped to derive from it, seemed so
 much for her interest to have regarded as
 sincere. She acquainted the king of Swe-
 den with her conversion ; and nothing can
 be more submissive than the letter she ad-
 dressed to the pope on that occasion : “ I
 “ have demonstrated to the whole world
 “ (says she) that I can resign a kingdom
 “ with the greatest joy, where veneration
 “ for your holiness is in the class of irre-
 “ missible sins : despising all sublunary
 “ adoration, I shall convince you how
 “ greatly I prefer the glory of obeying
 “ your holiness to that of commanding
 “ mankind.” The pope’s behaviour to
 Christina was not ungrateful ; he omitted
 no circumstance of respect to make her
 amends for the sacrifice she professed to
 have made him : considerable preparations
 were ready, by his order, to receive her
 with all the honours due to her exalted
 rank.

rank. Yet the queen made slow approaches towards the capital of Italy, being interrupted by the festivity that her presence occasioned in all the cities she passed thro'; triumphal arches were erected in many places, adorned with panegyrical inscriptions. She made her entry through the principal cities on horseback, in the dress of an Amazon; her journey was one continued triumph. On perceiving the cupola of the church of Loretto, she made several signs of devotion, and dismounted from her horse, entering the city on foot. She was present at the celebration of high mass, and deposited a crown and sceptre, enriched with jewels, upon the altar that supported the image of the Blessed Virgin. The pope sent two cardinal legates *à latere*, with a splendid train of coaches and attendants, to meet her. Christina entered Rome on the nineteenth of December, at seven in the evening: the procession was illuminated by an infinite number of flambeaux, passing through regiments of cavalry drawn up to receive the queen, and followed by the multitude, who made the air resound

H 6

with

with acclamations. This entry, notwithstanding its magnificence, was said to be made *incognito*; the most splendid pomp and ceremony were to be displayed in the public one that was to follow. On Christina's arrival, she immediately paid her obeisance to the sovereign pontiff; after bowing thrice, she kissed his slipper and his hand: this interview was very short. Next day the illustrious Swede was conducted by Lucas Holstenius to the Vatican library, where she employed herself in the examination of its most rare and valuable treasures: she afterwards made another visit to the pope, and received one from his holiness. When the day appointed for the solemnity of a public entry was arrived, Christina made her appearance in an Amazonian dress, with a plume of feathers in her hat, and mounted on a white palfrey. Crossing the city, she proceeded to St. Peter's church; all the troops were under arms; the streets were ornamented with triumphal arches, and adorned with tapestry, paintings, garlands, and emblematical devices, in allusion to the name and actions of

of the queen. At proper intervals were placed bands of musicians; the flourishes of the trumpets were answered by the discharges of the artillery; whilst the ladies of Rome, superbly dressed, and glittering with diamonds, were seated in an amphitheatre.

Christina beheld herself honoured like the Roman emperors in their triumphs! In this manner the pope insinuated that her victory over error was a more glorious achievement than any of the ancient conquests over warlike nations. The superior orders of the church waited at the door to receive the queen, and led her to the high altar, and from thence to the pope's chapel, from whose hand she received the sacrament of confirmation, adding to the name of Christina that of *Alexandra*. She afterwards communicated with the cardinal deacons.

The succeeding days were so many festivals, during which Christina was treated with all imaginable honours. The palace of Farnese was sumptuously decorated for her habitation: the pope and the Roman princes sent her a great number of magnificent presents

158 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,
presents and rich equipages; and she amused herself with viewing the most celebrated churches and communities in Rome. Observing with attention the famous printing-office, calculated for twenty-two different tongues, in the Urban college *de propaganda fide*, she saw come out from the press, prayers offered for her health in eight languages.

(1656) This princess gratified with fresh ardour her taste for polite literature, sciences, and liberal arts. She invited the principal heads of the Roman academies to meet once a week at her palace. In these assemblies moral treatises and poetical pieces were read, and they commonly ended with a concert of music: she was frequently present at dramatic entertainments, particularly operas that metaphorically represented the most brilliant events of her reign, and extolled the sacrifice of her crown to religion.

The world was divided in opinion on the propriety of Christina's conduct; she had a great number of admirers, and yet more censurers: these latter reproached her with
aban-

abandoning the religion of her ancestors, in order to embrace another, from motives of levity, and even of interest, without appearing, in her new profession of faith, to be more persuaded of its truth, more inclined to fulfil the engagements of her abjuration, or to shew any evident signs of conversion. Her inordinate love for the arts and sciences was regarded as imbecility: they accounted it criminal to have renounced the throne of the great Gustavus, and, what was still more valuable, the power of doing good, and being useful to her country, in order to become a wanderer and a fugitive amongst foreign nations; supplicating, in some degree, the protection and benefactions of their sovereigns, and suffering the degradation of receiving from them her fortune and establishment, though born their equal.

“ This is purchasing at an extravagant
 “ price indeed, (said they) the frivolous
 “ pleasure of beholding the ruins of ancient
 “ Rome, and the mutilated remains of
 “ Greek and Roman industry !”

Christina,

Christina, however, was yet immersed in the intoxicating charms of novelty, and in admiration of those wonders that nature and art presented on every side to her observation. Her time was occupied in visiting academies and churches; in considering the beauty of the edifices; in seeing collections of pictures by the greatest masters, and in admiring those master-pieces of genius of the modern sculptors, as well as the antique statues. A statue of Truth, by Bernini drew her attention: she cried out several times, in examining its beauties, “*O la bella cosa!*” A cardinal, who was present, said to her on this occasion, “Madam, it may very justly be affirmed, that no sovereign ever was so fond of truth as your majesty?” “The reason of that is, (answered the queen) because all truths are not so smoothly polished as this marble.” Cardinal Colonna was one of the most assiduous courtiers at the queen’s levee; he was importunate in his visits and praises of her uncommon accomplishments, till, by degrees, he fell desperately in love, and even declared his passion.

Christina

Christina turned her *inamorato* into ridicule; and his holiness commanded the cardinal to withdraw his attendance, telling him this princess did not come to Rome to be scandalized. Her court was at first almost entirely composed of Spaniards, but she insensibly began to favour the French and Italians, and to chuse her officers from among them. The Spaniards, offended at this preference, suffered their jealousy to break out in disrespectful reflections on her majesty's conduct. Christina testified her displeasure at this presumption, and threatened to do herself justice, if it was refused her, elsewhere. The pope, on receiving information of these broils, put an end to them, by declaring, that he should consider the smallest offences the queen had cause to complain of, as injuries done to his own person.

About this time a conspiracy was discovered, which menaced Rome with a revolution. The conspirators were chiefly Spaniards; and if the relation given by the author of the *Turkish Spy* is authentic, they intended to set the city on fire, seize the
 pope

pope and the queen, and murder the Portuguese ambassador. Many of the seditious were imprisoned and punished. Christina had a fit of illness, which was attributed to her uneasiness in consequence of these disturbances.

Desire of universal knowledge being the ruling passion of our celebrated Amazon, she took the advantage of a contagion that appeared in Rome, as a pretext for travelling into France. Sweden was now engaged in open war with the Poles: her king supported the glory of the crown by the reputation of his victories; but these military exploits absorbed all the national funds, and prevented the punctual remittance of the queen's revenues: the senate, and all the orders of the state, but especially the clergy, exclaimed loudly against her absence and change of religion. "Since this princess renounces us (said they) what right has she to expect we should supply her expences?"

Christina was necessitated to pawn her jewels for ten thousand ducats. After taking leave of the pope, and receiving his bene-

benediction, she departed, on horseback, promising to return again to Rome, which she regarded as her adopted country. She was accompanied to Civita Vecchia by several cardinals, and a numerous retinue; there she embarked on board a galley that the pope had appointed for her accommodation, attended by three other small vessels. She was not permitted to land at Genoa, because a report already prevailed that the pestilence was at Rome; the republic, however, sent magnificent presents on board her galley.

At length the queen arrived at Marseilles, not without fear of being attacked by some Turkish rovers, who were cruising in those seas. The duke of Guise, who was a magnificent prince, and a most agreeable courtier, came, by order of the king of France, to receive and accompany this illustrious stranger through his dominions: She was complimented with addresses and grand entertainments by all the cities in her progress; the governors presenting their keys, seating her under a canopy of state, whilst the bishops, officers, and magistrates, paid

paid their respects. She stayed nine days at Lyons, and arrived at Fontainebleau on the fourth of September. Madame de Montpensier, daughter of Gaston d'Orleans, the brother of Lewis XIII. requested the king's permission, although she was then in exile, to meet the queen of Sweden. Let us hear her own recital of this interview : " I came to Effone—The queen was
 " at a ball at Anselin's.—I had heard so
 " much about her whimsical manner of
 " dressing, that I was terrified to death
 " lest I should laugh when I saw her.
 " As they were calling out, Make way,
 " and conducting me to a seat, I perceived
 " her; she surprised me, but not in a man-
 " ner to excite laughter. Her dress was a
 " grey petticoat, trimmed with gold and
 " silver lace; a flame-coloured camblet
 " jacket, trimmed in the same taste; a Ge-
 " neva-point handkerchief, tied with a
 " flame-coloured ribband; a flaxen wig,
 " turned in a puff behind, as the ladies
 " wear their hair; and a hat, with a black
 " feather, in her hand: her complexion is
 " fair; her eyes blue; sometimes there is a
 " sweet-

“ sweetness in them, at other times they
 “ are fierce and disdainful; her mouth,
 “ though wide, is pleasing enough; her
 “ teeth fine; her nose large and aquiline:
 “ she is remarkably low, and her jacket
 “ conceals the defects of her shape: upon
 “ the whole, I should have taken her for
 “ a pretty little boy. When the ball was
 “ ended we went to the play: there she
 “ astonished me indeed! for, in commend-
 “ ing such passages as pleased her, she
 “ swore by her Maker; laid herself along
 “ in her seat, tossing her legs from one side
 “ to the other, even over the arms of the
 “ chair, repeating those verses she liked
 “ the best. She talked upon a variety of
 “ subjects, and her conversation had an
 “ agreeable turn: in an instant she would
 “ be plunged in a profound reverie, pour
 “ forth heavy sighs, and then as suddenly
 “ recollect herself, like a person recovering
 “ from a swoon: she is altogether a very
 “ extraordinary woman. After the play
 “ we were entertained with fireworks
 “ played off upon the water: she leaned
 “ on my arm during this amusement; and
 “ some

“ some of the rockets falling very near us,
 “ I was frightened; but she bantered me,
 “ and said, “ Can it be possible that a
 “ lady, who on particular occasions has
 “ performed such gallant actions, should
 “ be afraid of a rocket ?” I answered, that
 “ I was only brave on particular occasions,
 “ and thought no more could be expected
 “ from me. She owned the strongest
 “ inclination she had in the world was to
 “ see a battle, and she should never rest till
 “ it was gratified : that, of all men, she
 “ envied the prince of Condé for the fame
 “ of his exploits ; adding, “ He is your
 “ good friend ?” I answered, “ Yes,
 “ Madam, and my very near relation.”
 “ He is the greatest hero of the age, con-
 “ tinued she ; his enemies cannot rob him
 “ of that character.”

Whilst Christina was at Fontainebleau,
 several ladies of the court came to visit her,
 and advanced to salute her : the queen, a
 little offended with their familiarity, shewed
 her resentment by saying, “ What has
 “ possessed these ladies with such a passion
 “ for kissing me ? Is it because they think
 “ I

“ I resemble a man ?” The highest honours were paid this princess during her residence in France ; honours equal to those the emperor Charles V. formerly received. She entered the capital on horseback, in the Amazon stile ; part of the royal household troops, the militia, and other military forces of the city, were under arms, and many of the nobility followed in sumptuous equipages.

Deafened with popular applause, and attended by a splendid train, she arrived at the church of Notre Dame, where Te Deum was sung : from thence she was prevailed upon to proceed to the Louvre, in an open car, and was conducted into the state apartment, adorned, on this occasion, with all the ornamental furniture belonging to the crown. The queen of England, the nobility, clergy, the university, (1) and the

(1) M. Le Camus, rector of the university, composed a poem in honour of this queen, which met with great applause : the two following lines were principally taken notice of, alluding to her abode at Rome, and her title of queen of the Goths :

*Te satis antiquæ tenuerunt mœnia Romæ,
Ruderaque ultores orbis testantia Gothos.*

French academy, paid her their compliments : Christina answered them immediately with spirit and dignity. Several of her answers, which were quite unpremeditated, have been published. A doctor of divinity, at the head of his pupils, addressed his compliments in these remarkable words :

“ *Suecia te Christinam fecit ; Roma Christianam ; nam ; faciat te Gallia Christianissimam !*

“ Sweden called you Christina ; Rome made you a Christian ; may France bestow on you the title of *Most Christian !*”

This was undoubtedly the most flattering wish he could have formed, and its accomplishment had been the highest gratification to her ambition : but it was very improbable that a young monarch of nineteen years of age, the handsomest man in his kingdom, should conceive a passion for a foreign prince, where the disparity of years was so great, and so little similitude in their manners, the graces of person, or turn of sentiment ! All men of literary reputation had very easy access to Christina, who was not displeased with making an ostentatious display of her talents and acquirements

ments in knowledge. She conversed with every particular person on the subject of his own writings. Monsieur Ménage was master of the ceremonies, introducing such men of distinction as came to wait on her: he never failed, in presenting every one, to add, "This is Mr. such-a-one, a man of merit!" One day her majesty, fatigued with these visits, said, with an air of chagrin, "There is no end of the men of merit of this Monsieur Ménage's acquaintance!" She was perfectly versed in the history of all the great families of France, their remarkable actions, and their arms. The intrigues of the court, and those of the young nobility, amused her; and it afforded her entertainment to recite occasionally many secret anecdotes, of a nature it would have shewn greater delicacy to be ignorant of. The names of all encouragers of the polite arts were familiar to her. When any nobleman was introduced, she talked with him on things which concerned him personally; reminding the duke of Liancourt, and the marquis of Sourdis, for instance, of the capital pictures in their

collection. The court was unacquainted with a remarkable antique agate of inestimable value, which the queen was desirous to see, and drew a sketch of; by this means, after strict search, it was found at St. Denis's, where it still remains among the riches of the treasury. Her knowledge was so extensive that all who heard her speak were astonished: She understood every thing. At Paris she saw all that was curious in the churches, palaces, cabinets, and libraries; and often frequented the assemblies of men of letters. Hearing there was one of this kind at the duke of Guise's, she desired to be admitted: Gilbert, this queen's envoy in France, read a comedy there, of her own composition; the dialogue was rather free; and Chapelain, author of *La Pucelle*, a poem then much in vogue, being asked his opinion of this piece, blamed its licentiousness. The queen questioned Ménage, who was present, what he thought of it? This learned writer penetrated her sentiments, and, in order to please her, bestowed unlimited praises on the work: the queen replied, "I am
vastly

“ vastly delighted that this play is adapted
 “ to your taste ; your opinion carries some
 “ weight with it ; but that Monsieur Chape-
 “ lain is but a poor creature ! he would
 “ have every thing wrote in the style of *La*
 “ *Pucelle*.” The queen of Sweden, before
 she quitted Paris, was desirous of leaving a
 good impressiion of her faith ; she therefore
 requested a bishop might be appointed to
 her confession. M. d’Amiens was intro-
 duced into her cabinet for this duty : she
 fell on her knees before the prelate, fixing
 her eyes immoveably on his face ; which
 occasioned his saying, she confessed very
 devoutly ; that he was charmed with her
 sentiments, but scandalized by her mien.
 She likewise received the sacrament at
 Notre Dame, from the hands of the arch-
 bishop of Bourges ; standing up and chat-
 ting the whole time of mass : so that the
 piety of this new catholic did not appear to
 be very fervent.

The queen set out for Compiègne, where
 the court then was. Cardinal Mazarin,
 the prime minister, had conceived a very
 high idea of this princess, which influenced

him to procure her all the honours and pleasures she could possibly be entertained with during her stay in France: he went himself to meet her, and dined with her at Chantilly. The king and *Monsieur* his brother came there unexpectedly in the afternoon: they were impatient to see this royal stranger, of whom they had heard such a variety of opposite reports: chusing to remain unnoticed, they entered the queen's apartment by a private door, and mingled in the croud that surrounded her and the cardinal. He perceived, and presented them to her majesty, under the character of two young lords of the first family in France. Christina, who had seen their portraits at the Louvre, discovered them, and said, laughing, "Yes, I really believe them sprung from a noble race, and born to inherit crowns!" She no longer hesitated to address them by the appellation of brother. The cardinal said it was a difficult task to deceive her, and confessed she was talking with the king and *Monsieur*. After this, she discoursed a long while with Louis XIV. and had the art to render her

con-

conversation agreeable to a monarch who spoke a great deal himself with easy freedom, though he was yet at a timid age. He returned with Monsieur to Compiègne in the evening: and the next day the queen-dowager, the king, and the whole court, set out to meet Christina, and waited to receive her at Fay, a fine seat of the marshal de la Motte-Houdancourt's, three leagues from Compiègne. Their majesties, the princes, and ladies of rank, seated themselves on an elevated terrace; the avenues to the castle were lined with the king's household and a train of sumptuous equipages; whilst a prodigious concourse of spectators enlivened the scene, and the whole appearance proclaimed the magnificent pleasures of a flourishing state. The queen of Sweden, accompanied by the duke of Guise and cardinal Mazarin, arrived in a triumphant manner, advancing to the sound of martial music. Ladies were seldom seen in her parties: "I do not love the men (said she) because they are men, but because they are not women!"

On alighting from her coach, the queen-dowager stepped forward to receive her,

the king presenting his hand to lead her into the apartment prepared to entertain her. Their majesties and Monsieur sat down at table: Christina talked a great deal; and the delicacy of her wit was universally admired; but the singularity of her apparel, the negligence of her head-dress, and that assured air of freedom, with manners astonishing, at the first appearance, did not prejudice any person in her behalf; yet, when custom had familiarized these particularities, she insensibly became agreeable, and the graceful ease of her conversation soon conciliated every suffrage in her favour. This was the impression that the queen-dowager and mademoiselle de Montpensier both acknowledged this illustrious stranger made upon them. Christina shewed particular civilities, and made professions of friendship to mademoiselle Mancini, niece to cardinal Mazarin, knowing how much this lady was beloved by Louis XIV. She even flattered his passion, and persuaded him not to resist his inclination to make her the partner of his crown; telling them both, “ She would be the confidant of their amour; and, that if they

“ they truly loved each other, it was best
 “ to marry.” Such advice was displeasing
 to the regent and the cardinal, and contri-
 buted to make them hasten the departure
 of a queen who delivered her sentiments
 with too much frankness.

Notwithstanding this determination, they
 procured her every species of amusement
 during her stay ; amongst others, an Italian
 comedy, which she ingenuously declared to
 be a very wretched performance : they told
 her that these players generally performed
 in a better manner ; “ That must certainly
 “ be true, (replied she) since they are suf-
 “ fered to act.” She discovered great sen-
 sibility at the representation of a French
 tragedy ; breaking into exclamations of
 transport or grief, sighing deeply ; and
 at length was so far lost in meditation,
 that the queen-dowager spoke to her, but
 could not draw her attention. Grand hunt-
 ing parties were among the diversions in
 which Christina signalized her skill. The
 king’s officers constantly attended her, for
 it was necessary the court should supply all
 her deficiencies ; destitute of female at-
 tendants, state officers, equipages, and mo-
 ney,

ney, herself alone composed her court! She might be compared to those heroines in *Amadis de Gaul*, who recounted great adventures, but whose train and appearance were bad heralds of their noble birth, or the celebrity of their actions. The insinuating praises with which she flattered the queen-mother, the king, and the cardinal, were proofs of her address. She possessed the art of mingling encomiums and criticisms with the most refined delicacy; never sparing in her public discourse those persons who had ridiculed her in private.

On the twenty-third of September she left Compiègne, and was conducted two leagues from thence by the queen-mother: These princesses seemed to separate with regret. In passing near Senlis, Christina paid a visit to Nion de l'Enclos, that courtesan so celebrated for her beauty and her gallantry, but still more for the allurements of her wit, and extensive knowledge and taste in polite literature. The queen was charmed with the conversation of Nion, bestowed the highest compliments on her understanding, and expressed more esteem

teem for her than she had ever done for any of her own sex; made her some presents, and even took pains in persuading her to follow her to Rome : but Ninon, naturally neither interested nor ambitious, was too much addicted to gallantry, and too much in love with liberty, to agree to such a proposal : she was sensible of the value of the sacrifice the queen required, and remained inflexible to all her solicitations and promises.

(1657). Christina now quitted France, where she left a train of admirers of her wit and learning, as well as of her elevation of soul, and frankness of character. They regarded her as a heroine, the worthy daughter of Gustavus, and even superior to the fame arising from the glory of her reign, her culture of the sciences, and the disinterestedness of her conduct. Yet, if any credit is to be given to the memoirs of the countess d'Aunoy, “ She had not the least
“ resemblance of a woman, not even com-
“ mon modesty ; chusing to be waited on
“ by men at all hours ; affecting a masculine
“ appearance in all her actions ; laughing
“ immoderately when any thing diverted

“ her, and being extravagantly loud in her
 “ applause as well as lamentations : in com-
 “ pany she would frequently sing, and ap-
 “ pear quite absent : there was something
 “ unequal, rough, and even libertine in
 “ her conversation on religious as well as
 “ polite topicks : a perpetual restlessness
 “ made it impossible for her to continue
 “ long in the same place. When the king
 “ and queen, and all the court, were pre-
 “ sent, she could not forbear sitting in
 “ very unbecoming attitudes. She pro-
 “ fessed to despise all her own sex for their
 “ ignorance, and delighted to talk with the
 “ men on every kind of subject.”

Such particulars, joined to the forego-
 ing, form a character so entirely singular as
 is not to be paralleled in history. Notwith-
 standing these imperfections, all the princes
 who admitted this illustrious traveller into
 their territories, were eager to entertain her
 in the most splendid manner. The duke
 of Savoy no sooner heard of her intended
 journey to Turin, than he erected trophies,
 crowded with emblems and inscriptions, to
 her glory : her entrance into this city was

a fresh triumph added to the former. She rested in some of the ecclesiastical cities, principally at Pesaro, till the apprehensions of the pestilence at Rome were entirely dissipated, and then returned to that capital.

Christina often wished to have the countess of Sparre, according to her own expression, a witness of her felicity: she was the woman to whom the queen was most strongly attached by esteem and inclination: every letter that she writes to her is filled with those expressions the heart alone can dictate; she praises lavishly her beauty and merit, giving them the preference, to all she has ever seen, of most amiable in the world. The countess never would leave Sweden, her native land, where she was beloved, and made a brilliant appearance: she was too well acquainted with her illustrious friend, imprudently to resign herself to the inconstancy of her humour and manner of life.

Those pleasures and honours enjoyed by Christina during her residence in France, gave rise to a desire of visiting that kingdom once more: the pretext was her curiosity

riosity to be present at a ball where the king was to dance; but it was suspected she was to act in a more exalted sphere, by becoming the mediatrix between France and Spain, in order to establish a peace by her negotiations. Far from shewing any opposition to her return, the king, the queen, and cardinal Mazarin, pressed her not to defer it. Accordingly, on the fifteenth of October she arrived at Fontainebleau, with an equipage little more sumptuous than her ordinary one, and a very inconsiderable retinue; her dress likewise was much more neglected than at her first appearance. "I met her (says Mademoiselle de Montpensier) in a very shabby coach, attended by the chevalier Sentinelli, her master of the horse, and Monaldeschi, her grand equerry: she was dressed in an exceeding dirty yellow petticoat, with a jacket worn quite thread-bare, and a cap. I thought her now as ugly as she had appeared pretty to me the first time I saw her." There had been a kind of rivalry and competition betwixt the queen's master of the horse and her grand equerry.

equerry. Monaldeschi had been guilty of some treasonable measures towards his mistress, and was the secret contriver of a plot, the odium of which he wanted to fall on the absent officer. It must undoubtedly be the chevalier Sentinelli, who was then in Italy; but some letters falling into Christina's hands, occasioned her making such strict enquiries as left her no room to doubt of the perfidy of her grand equerry: after acquiring all the proofs necessary to confirm his guilt, and convict him of his crime, she dissembled some time longer; and seated herself, in travelling, opposite to Monaldeschi, without testifying any marks of suspicion or distrust; seeming rather to correspond with him in sentiments, and to impute the treason which had raised her indignation to the absent officer. Monaldeschi had once the audacity to say, "Madam, your majesty has been betrayed, and you know the guilty person!" The queen asked him, "What punishment he thought that person deserved?" "He deserves instant death, (answered he) and I am ready, if called upon, to be his executioner!"

“ cutioner!” “ It is you yourself (replied the queen) who have pronounced his sentence; remember it well; I declare to you, I will very speedily do myself justice!” The truth was, she chose to defer no longer the punishment of the wretch who had offended; apprehending he might discover her thoughts, and escape from her vengeance. She therefore, on the sixth of November 1657, sent to desire to speak with father Le Bel, superior of the convent of the Trinity at Fontainebleau. He published a relation of this affair, from which I extract what follows: “ Christina retired with that prelate into the *Gallery of Stags*, where, after requiring secrecy, and receiving his oath, she entrusted him with a sealed packet of papers, without any superscription: “ Observe particularly, said she, the time, the day, the hour, and place of my delivering this packet into your hands. You may depart.”

“ On Saturday the tenth of the same month Father Le Bel was sent for again, and brought with him the packet: a
“ footman

“ footman conducted him into the *Gallery*
 “ of *Stags*, and instantly shut the door upon
 “ him. He saw the queen in the middle of
 “ the gallery, talking apart with the mar-
 “ quis de Monaldeschi; three other persons
 “ stood at some distance. On perceiving
 “ the father, she said, in a pretty loud tone
 “ of voice, “ Return me the packet of
 “ papers ?” She took it, examined it some
 “ time without speaking a word, and at
 “ last broke it open ; then unfolding the
 “ letters it contained, she said to the mar-
 “ quis, “ Are you acquainted with these
 “ letters ? answer me !”

“ The grand equerry, turning pale, with
 “ a faltering accent, declared he was not.
 “ These letters being only copies, and her
 “ majesty observing they were insufficient
 “ evidences of his treason to bring him to
 “ confession, drew from her pocket the
 “ originals, in Monaldeschi’s own hand-
 “ writing. He yet endeavoured at evasion,
 “ but the proofs became so clear and com-
 “ plete, that he fell on his knees and
 “ begged for mercy. The three persons
 “ now advanced with drawn swords, headed
 “ by

“ by the master of the horse, that very Ser-
 “ tinelli whom the grand equerry had tried
 “ to ruin. Monaldeschi kissed the queen’s
 “ robe, and, melting into tears, essayed to
 “ move her compassion. Christina looked
 “ earnestly upon him, and listened to his
 “ supplications with an air of tranquility ;
 “ then approaching towards the superior,
 “ she said, “ Father, see, and bear witness
 “ that I allow this traitor all the time he
 “ requests, to justify himself, if he can,
 “ and more than he has reason to expect
 “ from an injured sovereign.”

“ The marquis returned the queen some
 “ papers and small keys that she demand-
 “ ed ; she still continued the conversation
 “ above an hour ; but finding all his ex-
 “ cuses unsatisfactory, she withdrew, say-
 “ ing to father Le Bel, as she retired, “ I
 “ leave this man to you ; prepare him for
 “ death, and take care of his soul.” In
 “ vain they entreated and conjured her to
 “ pardon this wretched object of her wrath ;
 “ she remained inflexible. “ This traitor,
 “ said she, is a greater criminal than those who
 “ are condemned to the wheel : I have
 “ com-

“ communicated to him my most impor-
 “ tant affairs, my most secret thoughts !
 “ The favours I have bestowed on him, ex-
 “ ceed those I should have granted to a
 “ brother ; I regarded him as such ! I can-
 “ not pardon him ; let him die ! ” Fa-
 “ ther Le Bel, having ineffectually at-
 “ tempted to move her by religious mo-
 “ tives, represented to her the impropriety
 “ of doing herself justice in the dominions
 “ of the king of France ; and even in his
 “ very palace : that such a step must highly
 “ offend his majesty, and would be con-
 “ sidered by the public an act of cruelty
 “ and injustice : that if she was determined
 “ on vengeance, it appeared more con-
 “ formable to decency, to deliver the guilty
 “ person into the hands of justice, and to
 “ suffer him to be condemned by a lawful
 “ process. Christina answered to these
 “ pressing remonstrances, that she derived
 “ her authority from God, and was ac-
 “ countable to him alone for her actions ;
 “ that she was an independent sovereign ;
 “ I am not, added she, a princess who flies
 “ for refuge to the court of the king of
 “ France ;

“ France; I have a monarch’s right over
 “ my own subjects, and will not solicit the
 “ courts of judicature to punish a criminal
 “ domestic when I have demonstrations of
 “ his guilt before my eyes, written and
 “ signed with his own hand. Go— fulfil
 “ your ministry in preparing him for death.”
 “ The difficulty of the undertaking, and the
 “ noise such an execution would make in
 “ the palace of a monarch remarkably jea-
 “ lous of his privileges, were perhaps ex-
 “ citements to the queen to precipitate the
 “ sentence of death on her grand equerry.
 “ Father Le Bel, finding it impossible to get
 “ away, returned from Christina’s apartment
 “ to the *Gallery of Stags*, to acquaint the
 “ marquis that his fate was determined;
 “ he confessed him: when that ceremony
 “ was ended, the queen’s almoner appeared.
 “ The condemned marquis ran towards
 “ him, grasping his hands, which he moist-
 “ ened with his tears, and beseeching him
 “ to intercede once more in his favour.
 “ The almoner carried back with him the
 “ chief of the three persons who had the
 “ charge of the execution. Presently this
 “ last

“last returned alone, and said to Monaldeschi, “Make your peace with God ; “for you must die : Have you been confessed?” At the same time he aimed a stroke at his breast: the marquis, in parrying it with his right hand, had three of his fingers cut : a coat of mail he wore defended him a while, but at length they plunged their swords in his throat, and he expired. Christina testified some regret for having been constrained to put him to death ; “But it was an act of justice, said she, to punish this traitor for his crime.” She sent an hundred franks to the college of the Trinity, ordered prayers and a mass to be solemnized for the unfortunate Monaldeschi, and had him buried in that church.”

In France this act of authority appeared too cruel and precipitate, particularly when considered as the work of a woman. The king did not complain, though he had great cause. The question at that time very strongly debated was, whether, having abdicated the throne of Sweden, and being in the dominions and palace of another sovereign,

reign, she had any legitimate right and title to take away the life of a criminal domestic by her own authority. Each side had its defenders and partizans. It is, however, apparent to unprejudiced reason, that this arbitrary proceeding was an equal violation of the king of France's privileges, of the rights of mankind, of justice, and of humanity. We are ignorant of the circumstances of Monaldeschi's offence : some reports say he betrayed the actions and designs of his mistress, and held discourses injurious to her honour; others go farther, and alledge, that Christina's inclinations favoured Monaldeschi, and that he had piqued her jealousy, and merited her indignation by sacrificing her to another lady, and by writing letters wherein the queen's conduct was ungenerously exposed.

Such a scene of horror, in a court where all around breathed gallantry and pleasure, was greatly injurious to the character of Christina. The king requested she would not remove from Fontainebleau, and left her to reside there in a kind of banishment. Totally deserted, almost instantaneously,

taneously, she clearly perceived the curiosity she had excited was satisfied, and that her presence was become importunate : this observation disposed her for a voyage to England, but she wished to receive an invitation from Cromwell. To compass this design, she sent over her secretary Madalschi : the Protector did not seem inclined to an interview : he dreaded the expence of such a visit, and dreaded still more exposing his conduct to the penetrating eyes of a princess who delighted in unravelling the mysteries of politics.

Christina went to Paris to be present at a ball, where the king was to dance. She was lodged in cardinal Mazarin's apartment in the Louvre, and conjectured her abode there would not be long, since the prime minister had removed her from her former apartment into one very small and inconvenient. The diversions of the carnival, animated by the presence and youth of the king, were lively and various : Christina engaged in them with eagerness. One morning she sent the French academy word she intended to be present at their meeting
that

that evening; accordingly she went, accompanied by the countess de Bregis, without parade, or giving the usual notice to the company to prepare for her reception. The academy then met at the house of her friend the chancellor Séguier, and the queen secretly enquired of him in what manner the academicians would appear in her presence; Whether they would sit or stand? One of the society having been consulted on this point, said that Charles the IXth came often from Ronfard to hear the conferences of the literati, and that the company was always seated in his presence: this answer decided the question. The queen having placed herself in a chair, the members, without waiting for her command, seated themselves at a long table. M. de la Chambre, in the name of the academy, of which he was president, addressed a complimentary oration to her majesty: several of the academicians gratified their self-love by producing different pieces of their own composition, in verse and prose: the Abbé Cottin was one of the company, and read a translation, in verse, of two passages

sages from Lucretius, to which he tacked twenty very sorry lines of his own, to defend Providence from the attack made upon it in the elegant verses of the Latin poet !

The academy was then employed in digesting a dictionary; and desirous to shew the queen some specimens of their work, chance presented this sentence, " The fancies of princes are only pleasing to those who make them." This princess was the first to say something diverting on a proverb where her own resemblance was so very striking.

The queen-mother became anxious for Christina's speedy departure; it was impossible to defer it longer; she therefore quitted Paris in the beginning of Lent, and embarked at Toulon for Italy. Cardinal Mazarin insisted on her acceptance of a considerable sum of money, and was likewise so generous as to order magnificent preparations to accommodate her in his palace at Rome. The queen, in her second journey to France, lost a great share of that esteem and admiration she had acquired in
the

192 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

the first. The French could not pardon the cruel murder of Monaldeschi; they blamed the licentiousness of her manners and conversation, and censured her levity and instability. Though she commonly shunned the company of women, yet she could not avoid being captivated with the merit of the marchioness de Ganges, the countess de Bregis, and the countess de la Suze: she contracted a degree of intimacy with the latter lady, in whom she discovered a similarity of understanding, taste, and propensities to her own.

The countess of Suze, daughter of Gaspar de Coligni, marshal of France, was born a protestant: she embraced the Roman Catholic religion, less from a motive of devotion, than to have a pretence for parting from her husband, who was a Protestant, and for whom she had an invincible abhorrence; which made the queen of Sweden say, "The countess of Suze became a Catholic that she might neither meet her husband in this world nor the next!"

Christina stopped at Leghorn, where she was still treated with the respect due to a crowned

crowned head. When she drew near the gates of Rome, a party of the nobility came out to meet her, and attended her to the Mazarine palace, forming a brilliant train of equipages: but they did not behold with unconcern the preference she gave to the prime minister of France's house. The Italians and Spaniards, whose political principles are full of jealousy and distrust, suspected, from this slight appearance, that the queen had entered into secret measures prejudicial to their interests; and a rumour was propagated by her enemies, of her having joined in a conspiracy with France and England against the kingdom of Naples and the Ecclesiastical State. These ridiculous and ill-grounded imputations discredited her majesty for some time: all her steps were observed, and the Pope several times refused the permission she requested for some French gentlemen to see the castle of St. Angelo. Malevolent spirits idly amused themselves in secret, with writing and publishing malicious satires and pasquinades against the queen; Christina, by opposing nothing but contempt to these

K

arrows

arrows of calumny, sufficiently blunted their force and effect. She began to be sensible, that in order to appear more respectable to the people, especially the commonalty, splendor must be added to rank.

“Pomp and pageantry compose the title—
“page of royalty.” She therefore reassumed the retinue of a queen, selecting persons of the first quality to be her gentlemen and pages; but unhappily her funds soon became exhausted in supporting the dignity of a brilliant court.

Sweden was then at war with Poland, Denmark, and Brandenburg. The Imperialists and Bavarians were in possession of great part of Pomerania, which had been assigned to the queen as her principal revenue; consequently all her remittances were stopped; and she was reduced to borrow money upon notes, and to pledge her furniture. In this extremity, count Sentinelli was dispatched to Vienna to complain of the conduct of Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, for expending in the war her pension of 200,000 crowns, and suffering her to be in want of necessaries. At the
same

same time she recommended to the emperor to send an army of twenty thousand men under the command of general Montecuculi, which she hoped would insure the conquest of Pomerania, where she had a great number of friends; and consented to yield that province to the emperor after her decease, on condition he paid her the whole revenues of it during her life. The court of Vienna received this proposition with great avidity, as it might hereafter give the emperor an apparent claim to Pomerania. The negotiation was carried on at Rome by his resident; but the queen of Sweden's resentment soon gave way to more patriotic sentiments, and she ordered her envoy to break off the treaty.

The Pope, however, granted her a considerable pension, and appointed cardinal Azzolini superintendant of her household. In Azzolini were united a graceful person and a happy physiognomy, with a delicate turn of wit, a character supple and insinuating, and powerful talents for intrigue or business. His knowledge was extensive in many parts of erudition; he loved the arts, and

196 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

he loved pleasure. With these accomplishments he gained the confidence and esteem of Christina; for by appearing to fall in with her taste, and to applaud her humours, he entirely governed her. This cardinal restored order and regularity into her finances, and possessed the art of reconciling oeconomy and magnificence. Christina, disembarassed from the care of her affairs, returned to her former studies; she still had an academy in her palace, and she penetrated deeply herself into all the sciences. Chemistry was one of her chief occupations, and her passion for *virtù* made her incessant in collecting medals, intaglios, antique and modern statues, and paintings of the greatest masters.

Count Sentinelli, her master of the horse, the very man employed in assassinating Monaldeschi, aspired to the hand of the dutchess of Ceri, one of the most noble and wealthy heiresses of Italy. Christina, who wished the success of Sentinelli, exerted her efforts to compleat the marriage, frequently displaying in little domestic intrigues that genius for state affairs with which she was endowed

dowed by nature and education. But the Pope's disapprobation of an alliance where the inequality was so evidently striking, engaged him to interpose ; he persuaded the dutch-ess to retire into a convent, and obliged Sentinelli to leave Rome. The queen, as some consolation to her favourite, made him colonel of a regiment which she had raised for the service of the state of Venice.

The world could not believe it probable for this illustrious heroine to remain long inactive ; it always supposed her forming some grand political project. The Italians and Spaniards watched her narrowly, and were often persuaded that they saw their apprehensions realized : they scrupled not to affirm she was totally in the French interest, and employed the money of the court of Rome in raising troops against the kingdom of Naples. The Pope himself was not inattentive to these reports ; he placed spies about this princess, and in a manner imprisoned her in her palace. The principal cause of this distrust was her obstinate perseverance in remaining in cardinal Mazarine's palace ; and, what exasperated her

K 3 enemies

enemies still more, her discharging all her Italian domestics, to make room for foreigners. Yet it was so much the interest of Christina to avoid giving too great offence to her benefactor the sovereign pontiff, that she was soon induced to reform the exceptionable part of her conduct, and to behave with greater moderation. She declined any farther correspondence with the French, and retired into a convent; convincing the world, for a time, that she had thoughts of a monastic life. At all public processions she was present, and never neglected receiving the holy father's benediction. Such external signs of devotion and submission forced envy to be silent, and restored to her the confidence and esteem of the Italians and Spaniards; who gave her, now, as large a portion of incense and applause, as they did formerly of censure and abuse. In some of the sonnets dedicated to her praise, they adorned her with the vivacity of the French, the wit of the Italians, the intrepidity of the Swedes, and the courtesey of the Romans.

1659.

1659. Whilst Christina was a subject of the pope, at Rome, consulting his pleasure, and conforming her behaviour to his will, an adventurer at Norkoping usurped the name and rank of queen of Sweden. But this imposition was of short duration; the false Christina was put under arrest, and proved to be one André Gyldener, about twenty-six, the daughter of a captain of horse. She played her part with so much spirit and dignity, as to deceive, for some time, several persons of consideration, as well as the multitude. She alledged in her defence, that her only view in this deception was her own amusement, which she thought she might prosecute very innocently. As, in reality, there was nothing in her actions tending towards a plot, or dangerous to the state, there was no further punishment inflicted than banishing her the kingdom.

Chancellor Oxensteirn's prediction was now accomplished. Regret and repentance pursued Christina in her retreat. She felt, but too late, that the uninterrupted enjoyment of the arts and sciences was a delusive

K 4 and

and imaginary scheme of happiness, incapable of recompensing the loss of a crown. An effort of disinterested generosity had indeed, for a moment, surmounted ambition; but it soon revived again with redoubled ardour to prey on a heart which was entirely its victim! Such is the sacrifice of a throne! rarely sincere or compleat! The monarch, in a state of humiliation, ever preserves his pride and sensibility, those companions of greatness: inconsiderable misfortunes most severely affect his peace; and he discovers still more avidity for those honours, and that homage, inseparable from the royal dignity, he once possessed. These were Christina's sentiments, which, in spite of her philosophical disdain, could not be concealed. It is true, that every circumstance of earthly grandeur concurred in recalling to remembrance this important sacrifice. What an appearance! to behold the daughter of Gustavus degraded to the rank of a simple Roman citizen, subsisting on the pope's bounty; forgotten by that country which she had governed with so much glory; neglected by that prince

prince on whom she had bestowed a throne; reduced to request, to submit, and even exposed to a refusal of her just rights. The privileges and immunities of her palace, too, were disputed; her actions restrained; her conduct blamed; and her life rendered miserable by every possible means. She implored the pope's assistance, but obtained no redress.

Christina's principal occupation was soliciting the payment of her revenue; to effect this, she sent her secretary William Davison, a Swede, to the king, with letters of credence to give authenticity to his mission: but this ambassador having followed the example of his sovereign in becoming a catholic, Charles Gustavus refused to see him, or grant any of his demands, unless he abjured his new religion. In this exigence Christina wrote to her minister; "I think
 "you so little calculated for a martyr,
 "that I will not advise you to expose
 "yourself to the danger of committing a
 "dishonourable action in order to save your
 "life. Honour and life are two things
 "which, in my opinion, merit our attention.—Never let the king of Sweden's

K 5

"menaces

202 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

"menaces shake your integrity; return,
 "but return free from the guilt of a base
 "or timid action; bring me indisputable
 "attestations that you have lived a true
 "catholic, and if I should ever be re-
 "duced to a morsel of bread, I will divide
 "it with you; I will die rather than not
 "assist you: but if either the fear of pu-
 "nishment, or hope of reward, have power
 "to corrupt your fidelity, or deter you from
 "your duty, be assured I will punish this
 "affront to virtue; and that all the power
 "of the king of Sweden will be insufficient
 "to prevent my just revenge, should you
 "fly into his arms for shelter!"

Davison accordingly returned to Rome, implicitly obeying the queen, though obliged to desert her interest. She wanted to persuade the world, and particularly Sweden, that her religious conduct was uninfluenced by inconstancy or levity.

The death of Charles Gustavus king of Sweden left the strength of that kingdom exhausted by successive, tho' victorious, wars, and the heir to the crown a minor. Christina wrote to duke John Adolphus, the young monarch's uncle and preceptor, re-
 2. commending

commending an indefatigable attention to his education. She complained of the unjust forgetfulness of obligations in the late king, and renewed her applications to the present not to neglect her interest: at the same time informing him of her intention to visit Sweden again, and regulate her affairs with the council of regency. Nor was she dilatory in the execution of this design; for taking leave of the pope, she began her journey, with a small train of attendants, on the 20th of July. Cardinal Azzolini dismissed part of her officers of state, and lessened her household. He sold her equipages, and much of her valuable furniture, to acquit her engagements. The queen travelled with great expedition through Nuremburgh, resting at Hamburgh, where the troops of the city and principal citizens rendered her royal honours.

The queen's arrival, especially during a minority, was dreaded in Sweden; there might be room for apprehensions of her forming a design to reascend the throne, should the young king happen to die; or that her partizans might encourage an attempt to resume the government, even in

his life-time. Her negotiations, however, were successful in prevailing with many of the principal Swedes to dispose the senate and states to give her a favourable reception, in defiance of the apparent opposition, in those who were at the head of affairs. Leaving Hamburgh, and passing through Holstein, she came to the isle of Funen, accompanied by M. Terlon, the French ambassador. When the king of Denmark was acquainted with Christina's arrival in his dominions, he sent his grand-treasurer to meet and invite her to Copenhagen. The royal family, attended by the court, received her without the city in a very splendid manner. She afterwards embarked in a galley for Scania, and stopped at Helmstadt, where marshal Linde came to compliment her in the name of the king of Sweden, his mother, the queen regent, and the senate. The marshal, pursuant to his particular instructions, endeavoured to prevail with her not to advance farther into the kingdom; but her majesty, disregarding his advice, assiduously pursued her journey to Stockholm: there she was met by the senators and council of regency, with the citizens

izens, and the military forces under arms in regular array ; the report of cannon, and the sound of warlike instruments, were mingled with the acclamations of the people, on her entrance into the capital. His majesty and the queen-mother conducted Christina to her former royal apartment. She injudiciously erected an altar, and had mass celebrated in a hall of the castle every day : the Protestant clergy condemned her behaviour, and declaimed against the scandal of it from the pulpit. The affection of the Swedes insensibly cooled ; they even conceived an aversion for this proselyte to the Catholic faith : in abandoning her religion, she irreparably injured her interest and pretensions. Every person who quits the established church of Sweden, forfeits his estate and privileges ; according to a law which the senate recalled to her majesty's remembrance : they removed the altar for the celebration of mass ; and the states likewise insisted on a dismissal of the priests and Italians in her train. Those rights and revenues reserved by Christina at her abdication, were confirmed and renewed, only, under the title of favour, and

206 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

voluntary concession of the senate and the several orders of the kingdom, as an acknowledgement for those services which her ancestors, and the queen herself, had rendered to the nation. They exacted, besides, a fresh renunciation of the crown, which she consented to, not seeing any opportunity of giving consequence to her pretensions; and retired to Norkoping, to wait there the total decision of her affairs. In this city she chose to give farther proofs of her zeal for the catholic faith, by hearing mass constantly, and confessing and communicating at Easter. The senate of Sweden again obliged her to desist from these acts of devotion, and the queen saw herself under the necessity of obeying the orders of an assembly to which she had once given law! If her conversion was sincere, the sacrifices she made to religion were worthy of their object; but if levity or policy was the spring that regulated her conduct, this princess was equally guilty and unfortunate. The bishop of Abo represents her under the latter appearance; he wrote, and published to the world, that he had seen the daughter of Gustavus give indubitable

table proofs of repenting her change of religion ; that she poured forth sighs, and shed tears ! Discourses like these sensibly offended the queen ; she feared they might awaken suspicions in the court of Rome, and injure, in the highest degree, the future repose and happiness of her life. She wrote the king a menacing letter against this imprudent prelate, demanding immediate satisfaction, proportionate to the heinousness of the affront ; protesting she would execute her own vengeance, if this insolence was suffered with impunity. Christina received assurances of such redress as was consistent with the laws of the country ; but these laws left the affair undecided, and the accused person was afterwards promoted to the bishoprick of Linkoping.

1661. At the termination of the diet, the funeral of the late king was solemnized with the greatest magnificence. Christina attended the procession at the side of prince John Adolphus ; but she went out of the church with her attendants when the Protestant minister began to preach the funeral sermon. Soon after, taking leave of the
king

king and the queen-mother, she set out from Stockholm with the same honours she had received at her entrance, passing the winter at Norköping, a city appertaining to her jurisdiction. In order for the due celebration of mass in her castle, she had retained the French ambassador's almoner, who said it publicly. This was a fresh disturbance to the court, the senate, and clergy, who again forbade her the exercise of her religion. On these repeated prohibitions the queen wrote to the senator Båat, governor-general of her domains, "The proceedings of the court of Sweden astonish me! Well assured that I have merited civil treatment, I make this last effort to soften the disposition of my inveterate enemies——If the ministers of foreign princes did not enjoy this very privilege, I should not complain; but to be treated with greater indignity than the most insignificant envoy, is a rebellion against reason, as it wounds the rights of mankind, and is repugnant to all laws divine and human——In the name of God, do not suffer my country to become an abomination

“ mination to the earth, by the guilt of so
 “ shameful an action ! and prevent an in-
 “ stance of such unexampled disrespect to a
 “ princess who never deserved it——Since
 “ to profess the same faith with people on
 “ the other side the mountain, is an objec-
 “ tion sufficient to destroy all hope of suc-
 “ cession in Sweden, what could I do more
 “ to satisfy the states than give them a con-
 “ firmation of relinquishing all future pre-
 “ tensions to the crown ? Endeavour to dis-
 “ pose my affairs in a manner that may al-
 “ low me to depart with all possible expe-
 “ dition; when they are settled, I will not re-
 “ main a moment longer in this place.”

Complaints and representations like these produced the desired effect, and the conduct of the regency became more gentle and moderate. Christina expressed her satisfaction: she left Sweden in May 1661, and returned to Hamburgh, where she remained near a twelvemonth. It was during this interim that she began a negotiation with several courts of Europe to procure the Roman Catholics a free exercise of their religion in the Protest-

tant

tant countries of Germany, and more especially at Hamburgh, and in the kingdom of Denmark. On this subject she addressed the emperor, the kings of France and Spain, and the Pope. These potentates did not lend a favourable ear to Christina's desires; unwilling to appear intermeddling in the administration of foreign states, and fearing, with reason, that the Protestants would demand in return liberty of conscience, and the right of publicly professing their belief in Catholic countries. The queen, ill-supported in this project, found obstacles and difficulties every-where, which cooled her zeal, and induced her to make her particular interests more the objects of her consideration. Accordingly she applied her whole care to domestic regulations, and the security of her revenues: she settled a plan with Texeira, her banker, for receiving her income with punctuality; but the misfortunes of war, of which part of her territories had been the seat, caused an unavoidable diminution in her revenues. The queen went sometimes to Bremen and Verden, cities appertaining to the Swedes, where

where she was treated with the honours of sovereignty. The alchymist Borri, a man infatuated with the search of the philosopher's stone, was then at Ham-
burgh. He had the art to persuade this princess, always eager in pursuit of know-
ledge and new discoveries, to venture a considerable sum of money for the prose-
cution of this marvellous work! The cunning knave enriched himself by the credulity of the dupes he made, of whom Christina and his Danish majesty were the greatest enthusiasts. Somebody calls alchymy "A pleasure for princes;" and indeed a numerous list may be produced of monarchs who have buried much time and wealth in this fruitless pursuit. But if the alchymists have always been deceived in the object of their curiosity, it must be acknowledged we are indebted to them for many interesting discoveries which they did not seek, and for advancements in chymistry which they did not understand. Thus it has frequently happened, that the first step in the sciences has been made by ignorance.

1662. The queen interested herself extremely in the misfortunes of count Ulfeldt: that restless, ambitious lord first offended the king of Denmark, whose subject he was; and afterwards the king of Sweden, who afforded him an asylum in his kingdom. “I will not encrease your chagrin, says this princess in a letter to him, by doleful lamentations, which, to me, appear unworthy of your character; I am convinced neither imprisonment nor death have any thing in them so terrible, but consolation may be found in one’s own breast to blunt the point of their darts; and I believe, when a heart is formed like yours, free from the stain of guilt, it is almost impossible for it to be unhappy. My only reason for writing is, to give you the strongest assurance that Fortune, in depriving you of liberty, can never rob you of my friendship and esteem.” The queen, when she sat on the throne of Sweden, had openly granted him her protection, and now endeavoured to support him,

him by her recommendation : yet history positively accuses Ulfeldt of having conspired the destruction of the state, and that of a king who loaded him with honours and benefactions. After flying for refuge into Sweden, he was suspected of a design to betray Malmoe to the Danes : Charles Gustavus, who had made him his prime-minister, put him under confinement ; he deceived the vigilance of his guards, and made his escape to Copenhagen, where he recovered his former favour ; but falling into new intrigues, he was proscribed and condemned to death. Ulfeldt had recourse to flight, and became a wanderer, with his family ; travelling under the character of tutor to the young lords his sons : but at last, he perished through cold and hunger, and was buried at the foot of a tree. The queen extended her friendship to the widow and children of this Danish noble, and allowed them a pension. During her residence in protestant states, Christina endeavoured to gain converts. She engaged the learned Peter Lambecius, professor at Hamburgh, to follow

follow her to Rome: the difficulties of prevailing on him to quit his country and religion were the more easily surmounted, as he had a swarm of enemies incessantly persecuting him, and an old, cross, covetous wife, who rendered his life insupportable. Lambecius's abjuration proved advantageous to his fortune, for the emperor sent for him to Vienna, and appointed him his chief librarian.

The queen retained one Galdenblad at her court, whose principal commission was to convert, either by arguments or bribes, such Swedish Lutherans as curiosity brought to Rome. This Galdenblad had been sent in his youth by Christina, with several more young persons, to the Jesuits college, and had been educated in the Roman-catholic tenets. Many of those conversions might be sincere, but as many certainly were the effect of interested views.

Galdenblad was always applying for money to make proselytes, and necessity often obliged the queen to answer, "It is not good-will that fails me, but money; if God gives to me, I will give to others!"

More

More tranquil in regard to her affairs, she again prosecuted her studies. Her palace at Rome became an academy and the rendezvous of men of genius ; but notwithstanding the prevalence of this taste for literature, the queen still persevered in employing her mediation for foreign states. She deputed count Galeazzo Gualdo to solicit succours at the different courts of Europe for the republic of Venice, then at war with the Turks. This ambassador of a queen without a crown, or without power, gained little consideration. Even the republic of Venice seemed to discountenance his proceedings, not caring to give him credential letters : so that it was said with reason of Christina, “ That a queen without a
 “ kingdom was like a divinity without a
 “ temple, to whom mankind would soon
 “ cease to offer adoration and sacrifice.” Christina, reduced to the empty name of sovereign, would yet interfere in accommodating a difference between the court of France and that of Rome. The occasion of the disagreement was a quarrel amongst the servants of the duke of Crequi, ambassa-
 dor

ador from Louis XIV. and the Corsicans who composed the pope's guard. These soldiers invested the duke's palace, insulted his person, and carried their insolence so far, that in the public streets they fired several muskets at the coach which the dutchess his wife was in. For this insult satisfaction was demanded by the duke of Crequi; and as he could not obtain any adequate to the offence, Louis XIV. recalled him, entered the principality of Avignon, and marched his troops towards Rome.

1663. The sovereign pontiff was alarmed; Christina wrote to the king, and sent a plenipotentiary to his minister; but that young monarch, sensible of the slightest affront to his honour and dignity, appeared but little disposed to listen to her remonstrances, and expressed his disapprobation of the careful counsel she gave him in this affair: the queen apprehended, that as her conduct was become suspicious to the court of France, the king might complain of it in Sweden, and occasion the sequestration of her revenues. Alarmed with this
imaginary

imaginary terror, which was increased by popular rumours, she wrote to the governor-general of her domains in the following manner : “ I cannot believe that either the king, “ or the regency of Sweden will allow the “ king of France to assume to himself any “ pretensions of power over me, as if I “ were a dependant on that crown ; a cir- “ cumstance incompatible with my birth “ and regal quality ; since, in those respects, “ I am the equal of all the monarchs upon “ earth : nor do I acknowledge a superior “ but God alone.” It is observable that, after her abdication, the queen was tenacious of her rights on every inconsiderable occasion ; and far more anxious to support the prerogatives of royalty than when seated on the throne of Sweden.

About this time his holiness declared his intention of making a visit to the queen of Sweden at her palace. On receiving notice of it from the cardinal who preceded him she said, * *Unde hoc mihi, quod Dominus meus veniat ad me ? non sum digna quod intret sub tectum meum.* Her apartment

* St. Luke's Gospel, chap. i. ver. 43.

L

was

218 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

was adorned with a magnificent canopy for the reception of the sovereign pontiff; the queen advanced to meet him, bending one knee to the ground to receive his benediction; she then led him to his seat, walking on the left hand: their conversation lasted an hour and half, turning principally upon the Corsican affair. The pope then took a view of the pictures and splendid curiosities that ornamented the queen's palace, and returned to the Vatican. Christina's mediation proving unsuccessful, the Pope was at last obliged to appease the French monarch by submitting to the conditions prescribed. Accordingly he sent his nephew cardinal Flavio Chigi, and cardinal Lorenzo Imperiali, the governor of Rome, to make apologies in the name of his holiness; the Corsican guards were banished; and the king farther exacted, that a pillar should be erected at Rome, with an inscription, testifying the insult committed on the *rights of men* in the person of the king of France's ambassador, and the public satisfaction insisted upon by Louis XIV. Possibly Christina was not sorry her negotiation proved ineffectual, or that the pope was humbled.

humbled. She had cause to complain of the arrogant and treacherous disposition of Alexander VII. who, on his part, had been mortified in finding Christina's influence superior to his own, and in being reduced to circumstances that obliged him to thank her for her services, and the letters she wrote in his favour.

1664. Christina was in a situation little agreeable to her temper. She was sensible to a variety of disquieting reflections that agitated her mind incessantly. Love of her country, anxiety about her fortune, the desire, perhaps, to resume the throne she had resigned, and, more than all these considerations, that aversion she had conceived for the Roman pontiff, a suspicious, peevish, old man, awakened in her a wish to return to Sweden. For its accomplishment, she deputed Adami, her master of the horse, to negotiate her return, and to obtain free exercise of the Catholic religion not only for herself but her retinue. The regency saw with apprehension these frequent precipitate journeys of the daughter of Gustavus, who had governed the nation with so much

wisdom and reputation, that all good citizens must revere the remembrance of her reign. The young king was of a delicate constitution, and Christina might, not improbably, be suspected of schemes of ambition. The Swedish ministry did not, therefore, omit taking advantage of this princess's change of religion to embitter the minds of the senate and the people against her. They insinuated that the example and advice of this apostate queen might work an alteration in the religious principles of their monarch, whose pliant age was susceptible to every impression. They industriously spread a report, likewise, that Christina would appear in the character of a Popish missionary, and endeavour by the arts of persuasion, or the seduction of presents and promises, to introduce the Roman-catholic worship into Sweden. By such artifices they discouraged her intended return; and, in order to shock the natural freedom and independence of her character, they limited her future residence to the hardest conditions they could prescribe; the senate prohibiting both the admission

admission of Italian priests, and the public exercise of her religion according to the Roman ritual.

1665. While Christina waited in Rome for the success of this application, she devoted herself with her accustomed ardour to the study of the sciences, to her taste for the fine arts, and the conversation of men of literary fame. She ordered a medal to be struck with the word *Makelos* inscribed in Greek characters, over a Phoenix extended on its funeral pile. She gave this word to all the learned antiquarians to explain, who composed a number of profound dissertations upon the subject, every one hazarding his own explication, and supporting it by weighty arguments. This was a pleasantry unpardonable in a sovereign whose will was a command, and who ought not have thrown that erudition into ridicule which she had always honoured and protected. The confusion of the Literati, who had employed so much time and sagacity in the interpretation of a word not to be found in the Greek language, was inexpressible, when the queen informed

L 3 them

222 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

them that *Makels* was a Swedish term, signifying either without a rival in excellence, or without a mate; which corresponded to the device on the medal, of a phoenix stretched on her funeral pile; and had also an allusion to the queen, represented on the reverse, under the character of Minerva.

Some differences arose between Christina and the city of Hamburgh, relating to the rich Jew Texeira, her correspondent and banker; on whom she had conferred the title of resident. The magistrates refused to Texeira those honours and privileges enjoyed by the ambassadors of foreign princes; they even insisted on his never removing from the city but with their consent. Christina engaged the king of Sweden to defend the rights of a crowned head, the daughter of Gustavus: at the same time, she wrote a letter, or rather a manifesto, to the magistrates, protesting against the violence offered to her resident, and against the attempts to dispossess her of those privileges which her birth and rank gave her a right to demand. By this exertion she did herself justice, and her ministers

nifters were henceforth treated with the same respect as those of other sovereigns.

1666. The queen, pursuant to her determination, left Rome and went to Hamburgh, which being one of the Hans towns, afforded her the liberty she sought, unshackled from all that deference which monarchical states require; its proximity to Sweden was likewise particularly convenient for maintaining a speedy and uninterrupted correspondence with that kingdom, where she was involved in perpetual negotiations for the remittance of those revenues purchased at the price of her crown; and this continual delay, or diminution, under a thousand pretexts, gave her severe cause to apprehend her income would, shortly, be insufficient to support her rank; and that she should be again at the mercy of the Pope's liberality, or that of some other beneficent prince. In this manner the circumstances of her domestic affairs created her more care and anxiety than she had fled from in abdicating the throne! The daughter of Gustavus, who once beheld herself queen of a powerful nation,

L 4 ruling

ruling it with glory, and giving laws to Europe, was now reduced to flatter the ministry and senate of Sweden; to throw herself under their protection, in order to solicit interests of the most pressing import: was she inclined to make any new regulation in the disposition of her affairs, she was immediately contradicted, opposed, and reminded by the regency of the terms of her abdication. Almost all her letters are a series of complaints, protestations, and remonstrances, evidently discovering how bitterly she repented that imprudent renunciation of a dignity so agreeable to her birth and genius. One day, in examining the cabinet of a virtuoso at Hamburgh, she met with a medal struck upon her abdication: she threw it from her with indignation; yet in general she strove to dissipate, or at least, to dissemble her disquietude, by giving entertainments, balls, and operas at her palace, in which she exhibited and danced in company with persons of the first distinction in the place.

Christina again acquainted the king and the regency of Sweden with her resolution

to

to take a journey into that kingdom ; “ I
 “ hope, said she to M. de Terlon, the French
 “ ambassador, they will have so much friend-
 “ ship and consideration for me as not to make
 “ any artful cavils about the solemnization
 “ of mass ; but if, contrary to my expecta-
 “ tion, they should oppose it, I am resolv-
 “ ed to abandon every thing and return
 “ instantly back.” She set out from Ham-
 burgh, crossing Holstein and Denmark, and
 sailed over to Sweden in a galley that wait-
 ed to convoy her, at Elsinour.

The reception this queen met with in
 foreign countries was not so inhospitable as
 in that where she had reigned ; the re-
 gency sent a courier to meet her at Nor-
 koping, to declare their determination not
 to suffer any Catholic priest in her train ;
 requesting her at the same time, if she had
 admitted any such, to dismiss him, otherwise
 they could not dispense with proceeding
 against him according to the laws of the
 kingdom.

The baron de Sparre, who was also em-
 ployed by the regency, had a very warm
 conversation with the queen on the affront

that was offered her ; on the present form of the Swedish government ; and on her pretensions and right to the crown, should the young king, Charles XI. chance to die. On representing to her that difference of religion would always be a weighty obstacle ; she said, that should her wishes ever lead her towards the throne, she would constrain none of her subjects to profess the Roman-catholic faith ; and might with propriety adopt marshal Turenne's words, " I am a Catholic, but my sword is truly Calvinist." She dwelt long upon the necessity of preserving in unanimity among the states of the kingdom ; upon the most eligible methods to support the antient families, and to regulate the army ; upon what measures were best adapted to the extension of commerce in the cities, the diminution of taxes in the nation, and the ascertaining the circulation and value of the current coin. Discontented as this princess was with the proceedings of the ministry, she had cause to be satisfied with those of the populace. She saw the people running in crowds to attend her ; she heard

I

them

them recall the remembrance of her reign with regret, and break into complaints of the new administration.. This was the most flattering panegyric the public voice could bestow!

Yet, finding the senate persevered in pressing the discharge of her almoner, she gave sudden orders for her departure; and sending back the retinue that the king had ordered to attend her, she returned with precipitation to Hamburgh. Her first attention was to expostulate on the conduct of the regency, and the little personal consideration they paid her. But there soon appeared in Sweden a memorial, or, more properly, a manifesto, acquainting the people with the many disturbances which might arise from the presence of this restless, inconstant, ambitious princess. Christina only opposed silence and patience to these declamations; waiting at Hamburgh for the first meeting of the Swedish states, when she flattered herself with the hopes of obtaining a more honourable and advantageous convention.

Christina possessed such an uncommon degree of sensibility, that the smallest errors in domestic occurrences appeared a capital crime in her eyes. Ill-fortune had given a kind of asperity to her disposition, so that on the slightest offences she would break out into storms of passion. In relation to a musician who left her court for that of the duke of Savoy, she writes thus: "It is my pleasure all those it may concern should be informed, that I will never consent Antonio Rivani shall quit my service for another; that he lives only to contribute to my amusement; and that if he does not sing in my presence, he shall not sing long in the presence of any other prince.— Should it even be asserted that he has lost his voice, it will be of no signification; for, whatever condition he may be in, I shall insist upon his spending his days in my service, or vengeance shall overtake him."

Always occupied with ideas of glory and grandeur, Christina expressed an inclination to have the history of her reign immortalized by some writer of genius: she engaged the learned Vossius in this undertaking.

taking. "I have remarked, said the queen
 "to him, that either ignorance or envy
 "have taken pleasure to conceal, or ob-
 "scure the greatest and most splendid ac-
 "tions of my reign. You have been an
 "ocular witness of its unparalleled felicity;
 "of you therefore I demand reparation, in
 "the name of Truth, to whom every his-
 "torian ought to render homage. I re-
 "quest only a simple detail of facts, which
 "will be unsuspected of partiality, because
 "all the world knows that the present ca-
 "lamities of Sweden have reduced me to a
 "situation incapable of paying the price of
 "incense." In consequence of this request,
 Vossius began the history of Christina; but
 the unexpected death of this princess put a
 stop to his progress in the work.

1668. When the states assembled at
 Stockholm, they were unable to refuse an
 acknowledgement of the justice of Christi-
 na's complaints and demands. They dis-
 approved that species of persecution prac-
 tised by the regency, and some of the se-
 nators, of depriving the queen of the en-
 tire direction and disposal of those funds
 appropriated

230 HISTORY of CHRISTINA,
appropriated to her support. All the orders, even the clergy, notwithstanding the alteration in religion, bestowed a degree of praise on the great actions of her reign, and on the personal virtues of Christina. They unanimously agreed, always to leave her the liberty of enjoying without restraint or molestation those revenues for which she abdicated the throne.

Alexander VII. was now dead, and cardinal Julio Rospigliosi was raised to the pontificate by the name of Clement IX. The queen, tho' in a Protestant country, testified by feasts and public rejoicings her satisfaction at the promotion of Clement IX. for whom she always had much esteem and attachment. The front of her palace was illuminated, and magnificent fireworks were exhibited; in the decorations of which were displayed the arms of the new Pope, his virtues, and the victory gained by the church of Rome over error, and particularly over the heresy of Lutheranism: six hundred lamps were employed to form the letters of his holiness's name. A spectacle like this appeared an insult in the eyes of the populace
of

of Hamburgh, already heated by the wine that had been copiously distributed amongst them; the decorations were broke in pieces by a set of riotous persons, and the centinels carried off; but her majesty's palace was furnished with ammunition and artillery sufficient to support a kind of siege, as she might very naturally expect some commotion would happen. The queen ordered the musqueteers to fire upon the seditious multitude, which killed some and wounded others. Irritated still more by this proceeding, the mob carried things to extremity, broke all the windows of the palace, endeavoured to burst open the doors, threatening to plunder the apartments, and seize the queen's person. In this dilemma, Christina escaped in disguise to the house of the Swedish resident. The governor of the castle, at the head of his troops, and with the officers of the militia, commanded the rioters to disperse: the tumult ceased, and the queen ordered a sum of money to be distributed amongst the wounded: workmen were several days employed in repairing the palace; and when it was in order to

to receive her, the magistrates reconducted Christina in a triumphant manner through the midst of an enraged populace, trembling with rage at the sight, but not daring to disturb the procession. She remained some time longer at Hamburgh, expecting the conclusion of her affairs in Sweden.

Christina still kept up a correspondence with Dr. Bourdelot, who had undertaken to give her a particular account of the news of the court of France, and of the works of literature published in that kingdom. She gives this singular answer to one of his letters. “ You do me a particular pleasure by not sending all the trifling stuff composed on the campaign in Flanders.— I admire glorious actions as much as any body, but I detest panegyric. My love for satyr is so strong, that I am pleased even with reading pieces where I am the subject; their number, Heaven be praised, is sufficiently considerable to afford me constant food for laughter at my own expence, after laughing for so many years at that of others : I say at my own expence, because all the authors I have
seen

“ seen are so stupidly impertinent, that it
 “ would have been an impossibility for me
 “ to have read their works, if they had not
 “ abused me !

“ As to what regards Benferadi, you be-
 “ lieve with reason that every thing he
 “ writes will please me. — I suppose
 “ you sent me L'Aunois' physical essays to
 “ prejudice me in his favour ; I shall be
 “ obliged to you to send me the whole
 “ work. The perplexity of my affairs con-
 “ fines me here, at Hamburgh, this win-
 “ ter : the only consolation to be expected,
 “ is letters from Rome, and books from
 “ France.

“ The transfusion of the blood seems a
 “ wonderfully ingenious hypothesis ; but I
 “ should not care to try the experiment, for
 “ fear of degenerating into a mere animal ;
 “ in case of such a metamorphosis, a lion
 “ would be my choice, in order to avoid the
 “ danger of being devoured by my fellow-
 “ brutes. — I am pretty well in health,
 “ and make a jest of physic and physicians ;
 “ but to enjoy it in a state of perfection,
 “ my sovereign medicine is to breathe the
 “ air of Rome.” The

The queen had some enemies, who were concerting means to do her ill offices in the assembly of the states, when her affairs should come under consideration. This became the object of a fresh and important negotiation, and occasioned her sending Rosenback, in the character of minister and agent, to the court of Sweden. The greatest part of her letters to him are still extant; but she frequently makes use of a private cypher when she has a mind to express her sentiments with unreserved freedom. Count de la Gardie, the grand-chancellor, was, more than all the rest, inveterate in his resentment to Christina; he still remembered those affronts received at the conclusion of her reign, and employed all his credit in defeating her views, accusing her of designs to tear the crown from the brow of the young monarch Charles XI. He even forced Appelman, a person who transacted her affairs in Sweden, to give evidence against her, as if she had entrusted him with this project. On being informed of this detestably cruel accusation, calculated to ruin her reputation, Christina wrote to the
grand

grand-treasurer in this manner.——“ Ac-
 “ customed to observe that my character is
 “ frequently mistaken, I ought not to de-
 “ base myself by condescending to justify
 “ it; yet I cannot forbear telling you, my
 “ rule of action is, never to listen to any
 “ other counsels than such as my own ho-
 “ nour and true interest suggest; and that
 “ I perfectly well know what these de-
 “ mand. The king of Sweden I consider
 “ as my own work, and I may justly affirm,
 “ the glory of his crown is so likewise; no
 “ ingratitude shall ever prevent my shed-
 “ ding all my blood, if that were necessary,
 “ for the preservation of a kingdom whose
 “ prosperity formed the reputation and hap-
 “ piness of my life. Should the Swedes
 “ allow themselves hereafter to submit to
 “ a bad administration, let them remember
 “ the fault is not mine; and may the wrath
 “ of Heaven pursue me, if I ever had a
 “ thought of taking advantage of such a
 “ circumstance! The only share I should
 “ have in that event, would be to regret
 “ the ruin of a state, for whose glory and
 “ grandeur I have watched many weary
 “ nights,

“ nights, and suffered many fatiguing anxieties, which are known to God alone.”

The states did not allow themselves to be prejudiced to the disadvantage of the queen, by the hatred and cabals of particular men, more animated by a spirit of revenge than public interest: they granted the principal points of her demands, and resolved on the following articles of agreement:

“ That all conditions expressed in the *Act of Abdication* shall be observed with the utmost rigour and punctuality:

That the free exercise of religion shall be allowed the queen and her domestics, in whatever place she chuses for her residence.

That it depends entirely on the queen's pleasure to fix her abode in any country, with an assurance of enjoying her revenues without interruption.

The king promises to remit to her majesty the sum of sixty thousand crowns, due to her, in the most just and speedy method of payment possible; and to satisfy her on this article within a year, at farthest.

The

The king and states assembled do guaranty the abovesaid articles by a solemn sanction of the diet, to secure their inviolable observation."

Every thing being thus settled in Sweden to Christina's satisfaction, she determined on returning to Rome, a journey that was become quite habitual since the alteration in her fortune and religion: she accordingly set out from Hamburgh, after entertaining the people with new shows, and demonstrating her esteem and affection for the most distinguished persons in the city.

The queen's entry into Rome was very grand: the new Pope had planned the whole ceremony with an astonishing degree of profusion. The pontificate of Clement IX. was stiled the golden age of Rome, from the taste he displayed for the fine arts, and the shining evidences he gave of generosity and magnificence. He was particularly prodigal of honours, entertainments, and pleasures, to celebrate the arrival of this heroine, from a principle of grateful esteem for Christina, whose genius and
actions

actions were always the objects of his admiration.

1669. The reign of John Casimir, king of Poland, was nothing but a scene of discord. He had been a Jesuit and a cardinal, and ascended the throne upon the death of his brother Uladislaus, encompassed with troubles and factions. This prince had neither proper talents nor qualifications to support a state, agitated by foreign and domestic wars; or to retain the proud nobles in their dependance on the crown. He requested peace amongst his people; but the more inclination he discovered for it, the more he excited the presumptuous ambition of the Poles. The consequence was, that wearied with constantly beholding the principal subjects of his kingdom thwarting his measures, and not finding the glare of rank a sufficient indemnification for the loss of repose, he resolved to resign his throne, and return to his solitude: he chose a retirement in France, where Louis XIV. bestowed upon him the revenues of several abbeys.

The

The competitors for the crown of Poland were numerous. Christina had entered the lists the preceding year, whilst she was at Hamburgh, and Casimir yet sat on the throne: but her negotiation was conducted with so much prudence and secrecy, that neither the Swedes, nor any other powers, ever suspected her project or pretensions. She dispatched father Hacki, her chaplain, into Poland: he was a Polish citizen by birth, and carried letters of instruction to the Pope's nuncio residing in that kingdom. The daughter of Gustavus quitted her proper sphere of action when she resigned the sceptre of government; and her soul, born to command, soared incessantly on the wings of ambition towards sovereignty. She wished to unite the glory of a voluntary resignation of the crown of Sweden, with the honour of obtaining that of Poland by the voice of the nation. She drew up the titles of her claim with exquisite art; "Take care to represent to them," says she to her minister, that I am the "last surviving branch of the royal house "of Sweden and Poland. In abandoning
"that

“ that inheritance which devolved to me
 “ from the great Gustavus, I made a com-
 “ pleat sacrifice to conscience and religion ;
 “ experience has instructed me to reign ;
 “ nor can they, without manifest injustice,
 “ prefer a stranger to Christina ! I have no
 “ brother, no relation to succeed me ; I
 “ can, therefore, have no interest incom-
 “ patible with the prosperity of Poland ;
 “ am now in the prime of a life inured to
 “ labour and fatigue ; and, finally, the ce-
 “ libacy I profess will prevent the republic
 “ from trembling for her liberty ; and, at
 “ my death, she will recover the right ‘ of
 “ election, and may select a king from
 “ whatever house she pleases.”

Christina then takes a view of the competitors, and urges, with great strength of argument, every motive capable of facilitating their exclusion ; and, correspondently to her wishes, not one of those princes succeeded.

Finding that her sex and fondness for a
 single life were deemed the chief obstacles
 to her election, the queen answers thus ;
 “ In regard to my being of the female sex,
 that

“ that objection may easily be obviated by,
 “ examples drawn even from the history,
 “ of Poland ; and further, it is universally,
 “ known I have reigned over a kingdom !
 “ over one of the most valiant nations of
 “ the globe ! that I was crowned with all the
 “ solemnities usual at the coronation of the
 “ kings of Sweden ; that under this cha-
 “ racter the Swedes rendered me allegi-
 “ ance ; that I governed the Swedes for
 “ ten years after my minority, with more,
 “ absolute power than any of my predeces-
 “ sors ; and at this hour am adored,
 “ feared, and regretted in that kingdom.
 “ This I may affirm without vanity, as un-
 “ der my auspices Sweden was one of the
 “ most glorious and happy nations of the
 “ earth ; and if God permit the same good
 “ fortune to accompany my endeavours for
 “ the felicity of Poland, I think that na-
 “ tion will be satisfied with my admi-
 “ nistration. When I sat on the throne of
 “ Sweden I was almost a child ; and surely
 “ there is a probability that, with the Di-
 “ vine assistance, I should acquit myself
 “ infinitely better of the duties of royalty,
 “ now my faculties of mind and body are

242 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

“ in their highest strength and vigour, ca-
“ pable of enduring application and toil :
“ but after all, what can they require of me
“ to which my abilities are not equal ? Is
“ it the administration of justice ? Is it to
“ support arguments or resolutions in the
“ senate ? I undertake to fulfil these obli-
“ gations, if not with superior eloquence
“ and knowledge, at least with as much
“ good sense as any other. Do the exi-
“ gences of the republic demand my ap-
“ pearance at the head of an army ? I shall
“ fly with joy to lead her troops to victory ;
“ nay, I protest, the sole hope of enjoying
“ this satisfaction stimulates my wishes for
“ the crown of Poland ; for would they be-
“ stow it on me conditionally that I never
“ was to command in an engagement, I
“ would refuse it : all my life I have pas-
“ sionately desired to be a general ; and had
“ not reasons of state rendered a gratifica-
“ tion of this desire impossible, I never had
“ suffered my troops to have fought under
“ any other commander. To conclude this
“ article, if the Poles will take the trouble
“ of examining the course of my life, tem-
“ per, and disposition, I am of opinion they
will

“ will pay me the compliment to overlook
“ my sex.

“ For the second point under considera-
“ tion, that of marriage, I confess it em-
“ barrasses me extremely; for when I re-
“ flect on my age and humour, it to me
“ appears an insurmountable objection:
“ indeed my humour bears such mortal
“ enmity to that humble yoke, I would not
“ consent to wear it for the empire of the
“ world! God has permitted me the bles-
“ sing to be born free, I never can resolve
“ to give myself a master!——But as the
“ Polish is an elective monarchy, it ap-
“ pears to me that methods might be
“ used to dispose the Poles to consider pre-
“ sent advantages in a stronger light than
“ future ones.

“ A third difficulty, which is of my
“ own raising, is ignorance of the Polish
“ language. — Yet neither the prince of
“ Condé, the dukes of Neubourg or
“ Lorrain, are better acquainted with it
“ than myself; and I will engage to do
“ what they are unable to accomplish;
“ that is, learn it in a very short time.”

Pope Clement IX. supported Christina

M 2

with

with all his influence; and sent a brief to his nuncio in Poland, highly extolling the virtues, accomplishments, and pretensions of the queen. This affair was transacted with all the dexterity of the most enlightened policy: but the daughter of Gustavus had no wealth to distribute; nor would the delicacy of her sentiments ever have allowed her to employ it in purchasing those suffrages which she thought her name entitled her to expect. The Poles, lately delivered from the bondage of an imperious queen-regent, were unwilling to expose themselves to the dangers of a similar government: they insisted on the obstacle of her sex; on the heresy of her house; recalled to remembrance the murder of Monaldeschi; dreaded her inconstant, haughty character; and agreed to exclude her. Finally, they elected Michael Coributh Wiefnowiski, of the family of Jagellon. This nobleman, who lived retired, unknown to fortune, and unacquainted with intrigue, was very far from pretending to a throne: he shared in the astonishment of Poland, and of all Europe, at his nomination; and would even have rejected a dignity, for which he was
conscious

conscious he possessed not the necessary qualifications : but the Poles were so desirous of putting a period to those disturbances caused by anarchy, and the factions of candidates, that they ratified his election.

Christina received this intelligence without testifying either surprize or chagrin. She only expressed her curiosity to consult judicial astrology on the fortune of this monarch. "Cast the nativity of the new king of Poland, said she to her agent, and mark the proper elevation of the pole." There appeared several libels in Holland ; the liberty of the press renders them too frequent and bold. The queen beheld with indignation the insults offered to several families in Rome, and solicited the grand pensionary De Witt to restrain such instances of licentiousness. "It is a real concern to me, says she, to see Holland, a country I love, and which ought to be the asylum of virtue and merit alone, suffer imposture, envy, and calumny, to take refuge under her laws, and shed their venom on all those who deserve to be honoured and respected."

1670. Rome had very soon reason to re-

gret the pontificate of Clement IX. Cardinal Emilius Allein filled the sacred chair by the name of Clement X. and, on account of his great age, chose cardinal Paulucci Alberoni for his coadjutor. Christina beheld her influence and favour augment or diminish by these alterations. Under the new pontificate she was involved in contests with many of the great families in Rome, and did not meet with the desired protection from the Pope or his coadjutor. The queen was reduced to the necessity of sacrificing her resentment to prudence. She sought consolation in the charms of study, and the conversation of men of knowledge; but these are often weak alleviations to the wrongs of offended self-love! This princess corresponded with almost all the men of genius in Europe, who were ambitious of appointing her the judge of their works, regarding her approbation as the completion of their glory. She was the foundress of the academy of Arcadis; (a name given to the assembly held at her palace) persons of the most distinguished merit were members of it, and found in her a generous protectress; whilst the frugal oeconomy of
her

her household enabled her to diffuse her benefactions with a liberal hand. Archbishop Angelo della Noce, estimable for his taste in polite literature, had a pension from her : on some occasion or other Christina happened to learn that this prelate was in pressing necessity for a sum of money ; she immediately wrote to him, “ I have sent
“ you two hundred ducats, a sum as inadequate to your merit, as to my desire of assisting you : but, remember
“ you have your revenge in making me blush. Pray keep the secret from all
“ the world, if you would not mortally offend the queen.” Her manner of obliging was always superior to the obligation she conferred ; for the laudable intention of concealing the assistance she gave to indigent worth, always accompanied her generosity. Many secrets of this nature, at her particular request, remained undiscovered during her life, and they became public after her death, only from the gratitude of her honourable pensioners.

1672. The marquis of Bourbon del Monti, first gentleman of the bedchamber to her majesty, was sent into Sweden with

M 4

the

248 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

the character of envoy extraordinary, to solicit Charles XI. in defence of Poland, and several other Christian states, from the enterprizes of the Turks and Cossacks. Christina embraced with ardour every occasion that gave a sanction to her advice in political and national affairs; for though she had renounced the substance of royalty, she was still pleased with the shadow; and as a consideration for the loss of a crown, and the want of subjects, thought herself entitled to set an inestimable value on her name, her merit, and extensive knowledge. She was particularly anxious to support the interest of the see of Rome, and to demonstrate at the same time, her zeal for religion, and for the sovereign pontiff. The present affair did not meet with success answerable to her expectation; the king of Sweden requiring an enormous subsidy from the Pope, and that nation was soon after involved in a defensive war. This war, fatal to Sweden by the losses it sustained, was likewise unfortunate to Christina, who beheld herself in danger of losing the principal part of her revenues; those provinces on which they were founded having been conquered by the enemy.

enemy, and her pension applied to the pressing exigences of state. From hence arose new complaints on her *neceffitous circumstances*, her own expression. One views with sorrow the daughter of Gustavus reduced to write to the receivers of her finances, to the senate, to the king of Sweden, “ I suffer more than can be conceived ; not only from the deprivation of what is necessary for the support of my dignity, but still more, in what is dearer to me, my credit and reputation ; since I am considered as no longer in a situation to keep my royal word, and fulfil my engagements for the payment of those sums advanced by persons touched with affection, or, properly speaking, with compassion, still more praise-worthy, for the deplorable state of my revenues for some years past, which forced me into such obligations.”

The queen, after having unsuccessfully aspired to the throne of John Casimir, king of Poland, claimed a right of succession to his inheritance, as the next heir, at his decease. She wrote to the king of France, and his ministers, and to the Swedish am-

250 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

bassador at that court, to enforce her pretensions, and appointed the Pope's nuncio to be her procurator in the pursuit of this business. Her diligence extended to Poland, Dantzick, Naples, and Spain : she also engaged the interest of the Pope. But the late king of Poland had disposed of his whole fortune by will, in favour of the Princess-Palatine ; and besides, these sovereigns had some demands to make for themselves, on such lands as were situate in their particular districts, which they found no great difficulty in appropriating to their own emolument ; and Christina could obtain no share in the spoil. It was no longer a novelty to find her requests rejected, and all her schemes vanished with her credit and consequence.

1679. Great negotiations were carrying on towards a peace, in which Germany, France, and Sweden, were principally interested. The conferences of the ministers plenipotentiary were held at Nimeguen. Christina had a mind to appear in a regal character in this treaty ; she conceived a project of persuading these princes to cede to her the possession, or rather sequestration.

tion of such provinces in Germany as had been conquered during her reign, and were now in their hands. Cedercrantz, a young Swede, was entrusted with the management of this affair; one, according to her own words, whose fortune she had made, and whose understanding she had formed; this gentleman she dispatched to France, Nimeguen, Sweden, and the Hague.

The minister of Christina solicited the grant of either a round sum, or an annuity for life upon the subsidies which France was still indebted to Sweden; he farther requested of Louis XIV. to write a letter, in favour of the queen's pretensions, to the court of Stockholm, and to the rest of the powers concerned: but, being unable to obtain any thing satisfactory, Cedercrantz received orders from his mistress to leave Paris, and repair to the congress at Nimeguen. No sovereign was ever more delicately attentive to titles and all the minutæ of ceremony. She wrote ample instructions to her envoy on this subject. "Sweden is not only my native country; "I have a superior right; it appertained to "me before it was the king's; I am far

252. HISTORY of CHRISTINA,

“ from disputing his title, and will ne-
 “ ver revoke a grant of my own; but
 “ there is this difference in our right; I am
 “ indebted to God alone for what I am,
 “ the king is not only indebted to God,
 “ but to me. Never suffer the title of any
 “ monarch to precede mine, except that of
 “ the Pope, and of the Emperor, to whom
 “ only I allow precedence. When the
 “ queen and the king of Sweden are men-
 “ tioned, the queen ought to take place;
 “ you may give kings and queens the title
 “ of *most serene majesty*, if you please, but be
 “ particularly careful not to bestow it on
 “ me; the queen, or Christina, are the only
 “ appellations I chuse.” She also insisted
 that the treasurer of her finances should
 have precedence immediately after the
 senators, and before the great officers of
 state, with the title of *Excellency*.

Yet, notwithstanding the loftiness of her
 pretensions, and the rank Christina expect-
 ed to hold in the treaty of Nimeguen, she
 very soon saw her hopes of obtaining a ces-
 sion of the Swedish provinces vanish. Se-
 veral successive victories of Charles the
 XIth over the Danes, and the laws pre-
 scribed

scribed by France to the elector of Brandenburg, obliging him to desist from the greater part of his claims, restored to the Swedes their former conquests, and re-established peace amongst the contending powers, without the concurrence of Christina. She was even reduced to make fresh applications before she could receive the arrears necessary to revive the splendor of her court.

On the death of Clement X. Christina entered into the intrigues of the conclave, in order to raise cardinal Conti to the papal chair, whose zealous attachment to her interest she had long experienced: his brother was first gentleman of the bedchamber to her majesty; and the duchess of Muri, his sister, her first lady.

But the queen had the mortification to see her wishes disappointed; the suffrages united in favour of Benedict Odeschalchi, who was chosen pope by the name of Innocent XI. This quick succession of pontiffs exposed Christina to very singular vicissitudes in her affairs. Under Innocent XI. her influence became weak; he was a man of simplicity and oeconomy, but resolute, and

254 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

and not at all calculated to be governed by others.

The doctrine of *Quietism* made a great noise at this time in Rome. Molinos, who had propagated it, was confined in prison by order of the Inquisition. Christina was suspected of favouring this new opinion; at least, she had apparently the highest personal esteem for its supporter: she was particularly careful to soften the rigour of his confinement, and to defend him against persecution. The Pope himself said, "Molinos may be liable to error, but he is most certainly a good man at the bottom."

Mademoiselle le Febvre, afterwards Madame Dacier, now began to astonish the literary world by her knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and all the learning of antiquity. At the age of sixteen, her person amiable, she preferred the fatigue of study to all other amusements. Christina anticipated the young French woman's intention, in sending her the first compliments by count Coningsmark, the Swedish ambassador in France. Gratitude dictated a letter, in Latin, to the queen, accompanied

accompanied with the history of Florus, of which she was the editor and commentator. Christina replies to her, "I have good authority for believing you a young, handsome, agreeable woman; does it not make you blush to have so much learning? Truly it is very unreasonable in you! Tell me by what unknown charm have you formed a connection with the Muses and the Graces? If your magic is potent enough to draw Fortune into the alliance, such acquisitions will be almost unparalleled in story; they will leave nothing more to wish, unless it be the knowledge of True Religion, which cannot long remain concealed from a lady who is qualified to converse with the sacred writers in their original languages."

Mademoiselle le Febvre was born a Protestant; the queen endeavoured to persuade her to come to Rome: the hope of making a convert, was as strong a motive for this request as the pleasure of her conversation; but this amiable scholar was not to be tempted by interest to quit her native soil. She was fortunate enough, after a serious examination, to discover
the

236 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA

the * true religion, and to prevail upon her husband, M. Dacier, to make a public abjuration of his errors. This lady was a partaker of the beneficence of Louis XIV. and her industry to promote the instruction of the Dauphin, and the glory of France, was indefatigable.

Christina, who was ever bountiful in the distribution of praise, advice, and information, wrote a long moral epistle to count Wasanar, the natural son of Uladislaus VII. king of Poland, who was her relation. This nobleman was agreeable in his person, had a cultivated mind, a noble air, and elevated sentiments, but was destitute of fortune, and had wandered through several courts of Europe, without meeting with any opportunity to repair the misfortunes of his destiny.

King Casimir, who retired to France after his abdication, would have acknowledged the count as his nephew, before the parliament of Paris; but he was diverted from an intention that would have procured Wasanar a suitable establishment: this

* The reader will observe, it is a Roman Catholic who speaks.

prince

prince died in a short time, and Christina hospitably received Wasanar in his distress, owned the tie of consanguinity, gave him rank in her court, and employed him in affairs of consequence: but, too much restrained by fortune to afford him a considerable establishment, she encouraged him to renounce the world. “ Cease to flatter
 “ yourself with vain chimeras, says she, in
 “ her letter, but believe, implicitly, that
 “ there is no happiness in this world to be
 “ expected either for you or me; and that
 “ all the transactions of it are of such a na-
 “ ture, that those are most happy who have
 “ the fewest hopes and expectations. Were
 “ it possible for you to attain universal mo-
 “ narchy, to be encircled with a superlative
 “ degree of splendor, glory, greatness, and
 “ pleasure, you would not enjoy more con-
 “ tentment than you do at present (I speak
 “ experimentally). So far from being more at
 “ ease, you would, on the contrary, feel
 “ vexations and disgusts which are yet un-
 “ known to you; and which you would
 “ find more irksome than all the evils you
 “ have hitherto been tormented with;
 “ put your confidence in the Almighty,
 “ and

“ and if you are convinced that your voca-
 “ tion is from above, quit the world imme-
 “ diately, but quit it in the manner you
 “ would do a house on fire; fly with speed;
 “ save yourself, if you wish not to perish!”

This nobleman did not, however, yield to these pious exhortations; the queen settled on him an annual pension, and he was appointed one of the knights of honour to pope Alexander VIII. and Innocent XII.

1682. The king of Sweden, Charles XI. had fractured his leg by a fall from his horse; an accident that alarmed his subjects with apprehensions for his life, and Fame, which always magnifies danger, spread at Rome the news of his death; a report that rekindled in Christina desires and disquietudes. A will, attributed to this monarch, was handed about, in which Christina's interest was totally forgotten. The daughter of Gustavus was alarmed; it was perceptible to every one that she still regarded the throne of Sweden as her hereditary patrimony, which could not be disposed of to her prejudice: preparations were began for another journey into Sweden, to assert her pretensions.

pretensions, when all farther hopes and fears were dissipated by the king's recovery.

Astrology became one of Christina's present studies, as alchymy had been one of her former ; according to her own account, " she possessed an unbounded curiosity to " know every thing." To investigate and trace this folly in the human mind would, undoubtedly, not be the most insignificant of all the Sciences !

Notwithstanding Christina's disinterested professions, she sighed over the empty title of a queen dispossessed of a kingdom. Ambition still reigned in her heart, and was awakened by the slightest breeze of hope. Benedict Oxenstiern was the present grand chancellor of Sweden, whose talents and qualities were well adapted to that important office. Christina congratulated him on his preferment ; recalling at the same time to his remembrance the honours she had so liberally bestowed upon his family, and conjuring him not to forget the interest of his former sovereign. The information he received of the queen's desire to have entire and sole possession of the dutchy of Bremen, in exchange

change for all her domains and revenues in Pomerania, Gothland, Wesel, &c. gave him cause to hope this would afford him an opportunity of serving his benefactress, and at the same time be an useful equivalent to the nation ; for, in reality, the remote situation of Bremen, open to the invasion of an enemy, rendered its preservation a work of difficulty to the court of Sweden. Christina pressed the completion of an affair that, in some degree, would have given her the epitome of royalty ; but, to ascertain its solidity, she insisted on the independent sovereignty of the province, whose neutrality, in case of a war, was to be guarantied by all the neighbouring potentates. Neither of these conditions could be obtained ; the exchange did not take place ; and the queen was again reduced to the mortifying circumstance of depending on the disposition of the Swedish court for the support of her dignity.

The frequent causes of discontent that Christina was persecuted with from her country, were incapable of destroying that lively attachment she always discovered for the glory and aggrandizement of Sweden. She

She displayed this propensity in all events, happy or unfortunate; assiduous in felicitating the ministry on the success of their administration, and in giving them counsel when she thought the welfare of the state required it.

1683. The famous John Sobieski, king of Poland, obtained a glorious victory over an army of twenty thousand Turks, at the siege of Vienna. This hero, who commanded the Christian forces, obliged the infidels, in spite of their vast superiority of numbers, to retire with precipitation across the Danube, abandoning their standards, tents, ammunition, and artillery: a memorable action which delivered the imperial city, by repelling the rage of that torrent which threatened to overwhelm the whole empire with desolation. Sobieski was covered with glory; and Christina paid her tribute of incense to the conqueror in an Italian letter; "I am indebted to your majesty, says she, for the security of my royal independancy and repose, two blessings I prefer to all the kingdoms upon earth! yet I cannot forbear confessing my ingratitude to so great a monarch, whose reputation

“putation I contemplate with envy; a
 “passion peculiarly insupportable to me,
 “from the resistance it met with in forcing
 “my submission. No mortal hitherto was
 “capable of inspiring it in my breast; your
 “majesty alone has kindled it. However,
 “I ought to add, in my own justification,
 “that the sentiments which agitate my
 “soul do not owe their source to a con-
 “temptible jealousy, since so far from refu-
 “sing to do justice to your merit, I acknow-
 “ledge myself sensibly delighted with that
 “supreme degree of esteem and admiration
 “which the world pays to its superiority.”

Christina commends the eminent talents
 of an Italian poet, called Vincenzo Filicaia,
 with equal enthusiasm. “Your sonnets, in my
 “opinion, (says the queen) are equal to any
 “of the beautiful Lyrick odes, either an-
 “cient or modern, I have ever read. If he-
 “roes desire any farther reward for their no-
 “ble deeds than what is bestowed by Hea-
 “ven and conscious Virtue, there are few
 “more eligible than the celebration of their
 “actions by your pen; which, in its su-
 “blimest elogiums, never flatters. Was
 “Alexander to arise again, he would with
 “more

“ more reason envy the princes of our age,
 “ such a poet, than he did Achilles for
 “ having a Homer to immortalize his
 “ fame.—I read all your sonnets incessantly,
 “ with the highest rapture; and I own,
 “ notwithstanding I am naturally a little
 “ malicious, and enjoy critical observations,
 “ I can discover nothing in your poetry
 “ but what excites my admiration: it is im-
 “ possible to express how much I am
 “ charmed: surely the incomparable Pe-
 “ trarch has renewed his existence in your
 “ form! but he has arisen with a *glorious*
 “ *body*, freed from its former imperfections!
 “ You have the art of uniting genius,
 “ judgment, and erudition; and you treat
 “ subjects, sacred or profane, with a master-
 “ ly hand.”

The poet was not ungrateful; he repaid
 Christina's adulation by dedicating a poem
 to her glory; which drew from her the
 most animated expressions of acknowledg-
 ment in several letters. “ Since my appro-
 “ bation is not unpleasing to you, oblige
 “ me by continuing to enrich the present
 “ age with your productions. You owe
 “ this duty to Heaven, to Italy, and even
 “ to

264 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

“ to me, since you will have it so ! for my
 “ part, I shall esteem it an honour for fu-
 “ ture ages to remember that Christina,
 “ tho’ a foreigner, had taste to read and ad-
 “ mire the works of the great Filicaja !”

This poet, so highly extolled, is how-
 ever very little known to posterity ; and
 though Christina bestowed on him such
 pre-eminence, was never classed with Pe-
 trarch or Tasso : his verses derived all their
 splendor from Italian conceits, and the tin-
 sel of false wit. Filicaja was of a noble fa-
 mily in Florence, and was honoured by
 the great-duke with the rank of senator.
 He partook largely of Christina’s genero-
 sity, who defrayed the expence of educating
 his two sons. By such repeated bounties
 her finances became disordered ; and she
 was perpetually busied in urging the pay-
 ment of the Swedish remittances : often was
 she necessitated to pledge her most costly
 jewels to the Hamburgh Jews, who ad-
 vanced her sums of money at exorbitant
 interest, which she employed in the en-
 couragement of genius, and the relief of
 indigent merit.

1686. The persecutions exercised in

6

France

France upon the Protestants, and the violent methods practised for their conversion, excited lamentations from all good Christians. On this occasion Christina addressed the Chevalier de Terlon, the French ambassador, who had attended her in her journey to Sweden in 1660. The letter wherein the queen declares her sentiments upon this proceeding, deserves consideration, as the result of a steady enlightened reason ; and does as great honour to her heart as to her understanding.

“ As you are desirous to know my sentiments on the project for extirpating heresy in France, I am rejoiced to deliver them on this truly important subject, That I neither fear nor flatter any person living, has always been my assertion ; I will, therefore, freely confess to you, that I am not at all convinced this grand scheme will be attended with success ; nor can I regard the attempt as a thing very advantageous to our holy religion : on the contrary, I foresee a proceeding so unprecedented will, in all countries, give rise to many prejudices. Tell me truly, have you any great faith in
N the

“ the sincerity of these new converts? I wish
 “ their religious conformity, as well as
 “ obedience to the king’s edict, may spring
 “ from the heart; for my part, I dread
 “ their obstinacy, and should not chuse to
 “ have it upon my conscience to be an-
 “ swerable for all the sacrileges these pro-
 “ selytes may commit, compelled into re-
 “ ligion by missionaries who treat our
 “ holy mysteries but too irreverently. Sol-
 “ diers are a strange kind of apostles!
 “ They appear, to me, better calculated
 “ for plunder, violation, and slaughter,
 “ than the art of persuasion. Some well-
 “ attested relations leave no room to doubt
 “ their acquitting themselves of their mission
 “ with military severity: I pity the people
 “ abandoned to their discretion; I lament
 “ that multitude of ruined families! of wor-
 “ thy men reduced to indigence! and find
 “ it impossible to contemplate the present
 “ transactions in France without the deep-
 “ est commiseration. One of the strongest
 “ incitements to the compassion of mor-
 “ tals, is the situation of those beings who
 “ are born in a state of error; they certainly
 “ ought to be the last objects of our ha-
 “ tred!

"tred! I would not, for the empire of the
 "world, be the instrument of their punish-
 "ment, any more than I would partake of
 "their errors. France is to be consider-
 "ed in the light of a diseased body ready
 "to have its limbs lopped off, to cure a dis-
 "order which a little patience and lenity
 "would entirely eradicate; whilst violent
 "operations will, I fear, render it incurable.
 "The dissimulation of heresy is dangerous;
 "like fire half extinguished it will, perhaps,
 "one day, burst from its ashes, and blaze
 "with redoubled fury. The conversion of
 "infidels and heretics is a truly laudable
 "undertaking, but the method pursued for
 "its accomplishment is surely extraordinary;
 "and since our Saviour never made use
 "of it to bring sinners to repentance, can-
 "not be the best! Such effusions of po-
 "litical zeal raise my wonder, but surpass
 "my comprehension; and I rejoice in my
 "own ignorance!"

This letter became publicly known, and
 if it failed of influence to stop the ardour of an
 indiscreet zeal, at least it recalled to men's
 minds the violated rights of humanity and
 the true spirit of the Christian religion.

Bayle, speaking of this letter in his Journal, calls it "a fragment of Protestantism." The imprudent journalist very soon received an anonymous advertisement of the danger that threatened him if he did not immediately do justice to a catholic queen, whose sincere conversion he had causelessly endeavoured to render suspected. Christina herself had given orders to her secretary, Galdensblad, to insist upon the erasement of that injurious reflection : thus menaced, Bayle thought it prudent to retract his opinion, and attempted to justify, or, at least, to apologize for the freedom with which he had expressed himself. He wrote to her majesty, and found no difficulty in obtaining that favour and protection so munificently bestowed by her on literary merit. This was the commencement of an intimate correspondence between them ; Christina replied, " Every thing I prize the
 " most, wealth, nay life itself is devoted to
 " the service of the church ! but I scorn
 " flattery, and am above dissimulation. I
 " am obliged to those persons who were
 " pleased to publish my letter, for I never
 " wish to conceal my sentiments ; I thank
 " God,

“ God, they are too elevated, and too vir-
 “ tuous ever to be disowned !——I will
 “ impose a penance upon you, for the fu-
 “ ture ; take care to send me every thing
 “ curious that shall be published, either in
 “ Latin, French, Italian, or Spanish ; no
 “ matter what science or subject it treats
 “ of, provided it be worth reading ; I don’t
 “ even except satires or romances. If particu-
 “ larly there are any chymical publications,
 “ I desire you will dispatch them immedi-
 “ ately ; likewise remember to send me
 “ your Journal ; I will defray all expences.”

Bayle gave the queen entire satisfaction in his Journal, and merited her benefactions by undertaking the history of Gustavus ; the beginning is still extant. He also entertained a design of writing the life of Christina ; but her death happened in a few years, and put a period to both these works : flattery and self-interest were evidently his chief instigations, since he instantly abandoned the design.

Christina made the tour of Italy, where every spot offered a perpetually varied source of entertainment to the lover of arts, and to the scholar ; under this com-

pound title she tasted infinite pleasure : several inscriptions are yet remaining, which mark her constant attention in examining the most elegant monuments of skill and industry.

There arose a dispute at Rome, about this time, on the *rights of privileged places*, which occasioned some disturbance. It had been customary for persons of the same nation to put themselves under the protection of their respective ambassadors ; they made part of his retinue in public ceremonies, lived within the verge of his palace, professed an attachment to his person, and under this pretext enjoyed many advantages. Several houses, and even entire streets, were regarded as under the protection of the neighbouring ambassador, and had the name and rights of sanctuary allowed them ; Romans, as well as foreigners, took refuge there, and these quarters of the city were the most populous. Exempt from the pursuit of justice, they often became an *asylum* for criminals, whose wickedness grew more presumptuous from being suffered with impunity.

Pope Innocent XI. wanted to abolish, or,
at

at least, diminish this abuse of power ; what he attempted was to confine the extent of *privilege* to the palace of an ambassador, and to include only such persons as immediately appertained to the service of his person and equipage. The ambassadors of the emperor and the king of Spain consented to conform to the intentions of his holiness, provided that France would likewise accede to this new regulation ; and Christina, who enjoyed all these *rights* in their full extent, was the first to set an example of resignation. She wrote to the Pope,——“ Most Holy Father, in order
 “ to second the very pious views of your
 “ holiness in the desire you express for the
 “ abolition of *asylums*, I voluntarily resign
 “ into your hands for ever all those *privi-*
 “ *leges*, which from the justice and politeness of your predecessors, as well as of
 “ your holiness, I have uninterruptedly enjoyed to this moment ; reserving to myself that deference which is due to the
 “ inhabitants of my own palace. I acknowledge that I offer nothing to your
 “ holiness but what already appertains to
 “ you ! We offer our oblations to the

“ Deity on the same principle ; for what is
 “ all we possess but the overflowings of his
 “ bounty ? Yet such offerings are not only
 “ graciously received, they are rewarded by
 “ Infinite Goodness with eternal and inesti-
 “ mable blessings ! For my part, I nei-
 “ ther expect nor desire any favour from
 “ your holiness in return ; all I have
 “ to beg is, that you will, on this occasion,
 “ approve the example I have given ; an
 “ example, perhaps, not destitute of uti-
 “ lity, should its influence prevail in the
 “ present conjuncture.”

1687. The court of France acted on a
 different system, resolving to support its
 ambassadors in the unrestrained possession of
 their *ancient privileges*, notwithstanding the
 allegation of the Pope, that his legates and
 nuncios at Paris had no *privilege* beyond the
 verge of their hotels ; and even this was con-
 fined to the circle of their own domestics.

Louis XIV. was very far from allowing
 any comparison to be drawn between the
rights of his ambassadors and the nuncios
 of the sovereign pontiff ; besides, he was not
 sorry, at having an opportunity to humble
 the Pope, of whose behaviour he had some
 grounds

grounds of complaint. The death of the duke d'Etrées, the French ambassador, made room for the appointment of the marquis de Lavardin, who entered Rome with a grand retinue. His holiness declared he would not grant him an audience; nor even acknowledge his character of ambassador; unless he first renounced his claim to the *rights of privileged places*, in the same manner that those of the Empire and Spain had already done. Louis replied, he was accustomed to set examples, not to follow them; and that the signal services which France had rendered the holy see undoubtedly gave her some reason to expect peculiar privileges and advantages. The ambassador made his entry, well escorted; and, determined to maintain his claim, continued several successive months shut up, in his house; which gave occasion for Pasquin to say, *The French are become Quietists!* At length, the marquis of Lavardin made his appearance one Sunday, at the church of St. Louis: the next day a *Bull of excommunication* was denounced against both the church and the ambassador. Christina had just met with an affront.

that highly offended her: the Sbirri, or officers of justice, entered her palace, and seized an unhappy victim who had fled there for refuge. Enraged at this violation, the queen broke out into these words; “The Pope treats me with too much indignity! Can he think I will dissemble my resentment of this outrage? No, I am resolved to demonstrate how much those persons are deceived, who think I will submit to such treatment.”

She instantly gave orders to one of her officers, made a shew of arming her attendants, threatened the Sbirri, and obliged them to bring the prisoner back to the spot from whence they had taken him. The tribunal of the treasury formed a process of this affair by the pope’s order, and published a monitory against the queen’s officer. Christina, not in the least terrified with a *prosecution*, wrote this resolute billet to the treasurer: “The summons sent this day to my officer, requiring him to appear before your *tribunal of justice*, as you call it, reflects dishonour on your master, as well as yourself: I cannot help beholding you with an eye of compassion, in
“ your

“ your present capacity, but shall do it still
 “ more if you live to be a cardinal; yet,
 “ for your consolation, I give you my word
 “ that the person you have condemned to
 “ death shall live, if heaven permits, some
 “ time longer; and that should he chance
 “ to end his days by a violent, instead of a
 “ natural death, he shall not fall unaccom-
 “ panied.” This princess, whose loftiness
 of soul encreased in proportion to the en-
 deavours made use of to depress it, de-
 manded satisfaction for the insult to her
 prerogative. She assembled the officers
 and attendants of her household, and ac-
 quainted them with the insufficiency of her
 strength to protect them any longer against
 the rigour of an unjust and tyrannical go-
 vernment: that to avoid involving them
 in the danger of defending her cause, she
 restored them their liberty. At these words
 they all melted into tears, protesting their
 readiness to shed the last drop of their
 blood in her defence. Christina accepted
 their offer, and promised to secure their
 persons, and reward their zeal.

The resolution of the queen, and the
 violent part her character might naturally

276 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

lead her to act, induced several of the cardinals, and even the Pope, to think of an accommodation; but the minds of both parties grew more and more inflamed. Innocent XI. wanted to vindicate his authority, affronted in the persons of the officers of justice, and Christina demanded reparation for the injury offered to her rank. The queen entered the church of the Jesuits, attended by her retinue, well armed and resolutely determined: this was a kind of bravado to which they did not think proper to pay much attention. The Pope sent her on the same day a present of some fruit, particularly delicate for the season; she said, in receiving it, "Surely his Holiness does not intend to lull me asleep with his temptations? I shall be always on my guard." Innocent contented himself with saying, "*è donna: she is a woman!*" She felt the poignancy of this reflection, and launched out into complaints and reproaches. The Pope stopped the queen's pension of twelve thousand crowns, which the Apostolic-chamber had paid for several years past: he imagined by this means to subdue her spirit, but it was for her new matter

matter of exultation and triumph. When cardinal Azzolino acquainted her with his Holiness's intention, she made this singular reply : " I assure you this news gives me
 " particular pleasure ; I beg you will do
 " me the justice to believe you could have
 " told me nothing in the world so agree-
 " able ! God, who knows the secrets of my
 " heart, knows that I speak truth.—Re-
 " ceiving those twelve thousand crowns
 " from the Pope, was the only blemish in
 " my life ; and I submitted to that punish-
 " ment from the hand of Heaven, as the
 " most humiliating mortification to my
 " pride."

Christina had entered into a strict connection with the marquis de Lavardin, who had the same cause to defend ; they agreed mutually to support each other against the encroachments of the court of Rome : Louis XIV. wrote a very obliging letter on this occasion, which Christina answered ; and had the satisfaction to see a friendly intercourse revive between his majesty and her, without the smallest advances made on her part, after a coolness, and al-
 most

278 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,
most total interruption of it for many
years.

The French held themselves ready to defend their pretensions sword in hand; the queen, on her side, was employed in fortifying herself in her palace. On some representations made to her, that Innocent XI. might at last make her sensible of his power; "If he be a pope, said she, I will make him remember that I am a queen."

There came ambassadors from the king of Siam to the Pope, who had an audience, and received rich presents from his Holiness: Christina, on this occasion, said, "Since the Pope is determined to behave ill to all the princes of Europe, he certainly judges right to pay extraordinary honours to Indian kings, and their ambassadors!"

The Spanish ambassador had only relinquished his claim to the *privileges* in question, conditionally if other powers would do the same; therefore, when he saw France and Christina resolved not to yield up the smallest article, he again reassumed his ancient *rights*. This contest was the subject
of.

of conversation in all the European courts ; their attention was fixed on Christina's behaviour, and she very well knew they waited the result of it : " My situation at Rome, " said she, is parallel to that of Cæsar in " the hands of the pyrates ; like him I met " nace, and they fear me ! " Animosities ran so high, that the Pope declared he was absolutely determined to abolish the disputed *privileges* ; and that he felt himself possessed of sufficient fortitude to suffer martyrdom, rather than give up the point. Neither Louis nor Christina were in the least disposed to make the most inconsiderable submission to the sovereign pontiff, of whose treatment they had personal cause of complaint ; otherwise the justice and necessity of a reformation in the *abuse of sanctuary* was self-evident. It was not easy to foresee the conclusion of this important affair ; the court of Rome continued negotiating, and expected to gain from time, what it could not hope to obtain from authority or violence. France had a war to support with the principal powers of Europe, and began to be less regardful of this dispute ; and the queen soon disappeared

ed from the scene of action. After her death, the marquis de Lavardin did not care to brave the storm alone, but withdrew from Rome without taking leave of the Pope; apprehending lest the multitude and the inquisition might claim a right to vent their malice on him as an excommunicated person, without being guilty of a violation of the *law of nations*. On the death of Innocent XI. his successor, Pope Alexander VIII. had no difficulty in obtaining from Louis XIV. the *abolition of asylums*: that monarch had no longer the same interest nor reasons for opposition to the just demands of the new pope.

Christina ever continued the zealous patroness of learning and talents, and the encourager of merit in all nations: several literary works were undertaken through her instigation, the expences of the press defrayed, and the authors rewarded by her bounty. Wastmuth's *Treatise on Astronomy and Chronology* was the fruit of her liberality, as well as the *History of the Triennial war of the Empire* by Puffendorf. She corresponded regularly with the *literati* of Germany, and the *wits* of France. Mademoiselle

moiselle Scudery sent the queen her works, and at the same time recommended one of her friends to her notice, at the very period when disputes on *privilege* were at their height, and the French looked upon with distrust. Christina answered M. Scudery thus ; “ How amazing is it, that Made-
 “ moiselle Scudery, who has wrote so well
 “ upon the tyranny of fashion, should be
 “ unacquainted with that now established
 “ at Rome ! Indeed you have recommend-
 “ ed your friend very unfortunately. Do
 “ you know that Frenchmen would
 “ find it a much easier task to gain admit-
 “ tance to the favourite Sultana than to
 “ me ? though I am not the object of
 “ love or jealousy to any sultan, and am,
 “ I thank heaven, entirely free, even among
 “ Italians. A kind of passion, hitherto
 “ undefined, is substituted in the place of
 “ that love and jealousy which reign at
 “ Constantinople ; one of its effects is, to
 “ revenge on the French nation those,
 “ well or ill-grounded, vexations of which it
 “ is pretended I have been guilty. How-
 “ ever, I suppose the *fashion* will not be
 “ everlasting ; and should it change, I shall
 “ con-

“ convince your friend that all polite men
 “ are received with pleasure at my house,
 “ particularly those who are of your ac-
 “ quaintance: it is my determined resolu-
 “ tion, however, not to interfere in bringing
 “ about this change, tho’ the sentiments and
 “ behaviour of my persecutors should remain
 “ eternally unalterable; the circumstances
 “ of my past life ought to convince mankind
 “ that I have sufficient fortitude to deprive
 “ myself of all its indulgencies without re-
 “ luctance.—I have naturally a violent
 “ aversion to the thought of *old age*, and
 “ cannot imagine how I shall ever accustom
 “ myself to bear its infirmities. Was the
 “ choice of *old age*, or death, in my power;
 “ I think I should prefer the latter with-
 “ out hesitation; but since that is a point
 “ in which we are never consulted, I study
 “ to make life as agreeable as I can. In
 “ the same manner, the approach of
 “ *death*, ever punctual to his time,
 “ never disturbs me: I wait in calm
 “ expectation, neither fearing nor desiring
 “ his arrival.—It is now time to talk of
 “ your *works*, which are learned, useful,
 “ and agreeable. You so artfully embellish
 “ the

“ the fine things you say, that I am quite
 “ charmed ! For how many delightful mo-
 “ ments am I indebted to you ! and how
 “ impossible do I find it to repay them ;
 “ yet (tell me) are you, who write so ele-
 “ gantly, excusable for letting the prince
 “ of Condé die without bestowing an elo-
 “ gium upon him either in verse or prose ?
 “ What an irreparable loss to France ! what
 “ a loss to the present age is that great man,
 “ who was one of its most distinguished
 “ ornaments ! For my own part, I have re-
 “ gretted him as sincerely as any of his best
 “ friends ; and must insist on your writing
 “ something worthy a hero of such eminent
 “ and extraordinary merit. In my opi-
 “ nion, to praise those who deserve com-
 “ mendation, is one of the most refined of
 “ all our pleasures ; and Mademoiselle
 “ Scudery, whose talents are so expressly
 “ calculated for panegyric, can never re-
 “ fuse her encomiums to such a prince ! ”

It appears that the great Condé was still
 Christina's hero : she exalted him above all
 the most famous warriors ancient or mo-
 dern, and regarded him, according to her
 own

284 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,
own expression, as an honour to humanity.

1688. The prince royal of Sweden, who afterwards became so renowned under the title of Charles XII. wrote to Christina when he was about six years old. The queen prognosticated, with great truth, the lustre this prince would one day reflect on the Swedish monarchy, by his virtues and valour; but that part of her prediction undoubtedly proved fallacious, which announced a happy reign to Sweden, founded on the wisdom of his government. Charles was as ignorant in the cabinet as he was skilful in the field.

Christina dispatched the marquis del Monte into Sweden; he was son of the marquis she formerly employed in the management of her affairs at Stockholm. The queen had obliged this young Italian to marry a rich heiress, niece to Monaldeschi, in spite of the repugnance he testified to an alliance with a name which Christina's vengeance had made too famous: this was an additional motive for her pressing the marriage, willing to repair,

pair, in some measure, the disgrace she had brought on the family of Monaldeschi, by public marks of esteem and consideration, notwithstanding the crime of the guilty person put to death by her authority.

The father of the marquis del Monte died suddenly, to the great regret of the queen, who had drawn considerable advantages from his zeal, attachment, and talents. She undertook the melancholy task of breaking the news to his son, and of endeavouring to console him. “ All
 “ that I am able to do for you, in this try-
 “ ing moment (said she) is to assure you
 “ that whatever tenderness your father felt
 “ for you is bequeathed to me ; and that
 “ for the future you shall be my son, at
 “ least of affection !—What is mortality ?
 “ nothing but dust and ashes : remember,
 “ we must all vanish away like shadows :—
 “ life is no more than a dream ; it sparkles,
 “ and disappears like a momentary flash of
 “ lightning :—we are all running our race
 “ towards eternity.—I will send you your
 “ patent of *master of the horse*, which I
 “ have already bestowed on you.—Request
 “ Heaven

“Heaven to preserve my life, and you
 “shall see what honours I reserve for
 “you.”

The court of Stockholm was perpetually raising new difficulties to retard the payment of the queen's revenues: deprived of her pension from the Apostolic chamber, and more diffusive in her expences and liberalities every day, she had more occasion than ever for the regular remittance of her annuity. — The marquis del Monte despaired of succeeding in his application, and described to the queen his fears and distrust of his own abilities, who reassured and encouraged his inexperience. “Do you assist him (says Christina to the governor of her domains) let him see that you place some confidence in him; I will answer for his fidelity, and other requisites will ripen in time. In your school he will form his conduct; the marquis has not had the good fortune to be taught by so able a master;—he is solely my work. — Men of experience are alone capable of executing state affairs; but the execution
 of

“ of state affairs will in time make men of
“ experience !——”

All Christina's letters that are extant are filled with such domestic and oeconomical circumstances, for she herself gave the necessary instructions to her ministers and officers, regulated their plan of action, and sketched out all their proceedings. One cannot help remarking the extent of her care and attention to the minutest objects, as well as her exquisite sensibility on every trying occasion, and that punctilious nicety she displayed in the slightest points of ceremonial.

The true interest of the different courts of Europe engrossed her attention equally with her personal affairs; and she had a peculiar pleasure in exercising her political penetration on the schemes of its respective princes. That piercing and extensive perception she possessed was seldom mistaken; and, as she used to say, “ Terrestrial astrology is more infallible than celestial, in prognosticating future events !” — The greatest part of Europe was then in motion; divisions had arisen among its principal powers, and the jealousy they dis-

288 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

discovered of the court of France, forced that nation again to unsheath the sword, in order to make its grandeur and strength respectable, Christina's observations on the events in October 1688, are as follow :

“ Fire and flames are once more kindled
“ in Germany. The king of France has
“ struck a masterly stroke ; had he acted
“ with equal vigour fifteen or twenty years
“ ago, he must have gone great lengths,
“ indeed ! What most strongly excites my
“ attention is, the part Sweden will act in
“ the public drama ; and the discovery of
“ the grand designs of the prince of Orange :
“ my fears for the king of England are
“ very great. — The prince of Orange has
“ parts and courage ; I cannot believe he
“ would inconsiderately engage in so im-
“ portant an affair without an almost abso-
“ lute assurance of success. The Pope, who
“ has ever been unwilling to interpose in
“ the affairs of the king of England, has at
“ last consented ; we shall see the conse-
“ quence. — The termination of the siege
“ of Philippsburg will regulate matters here ;
“ for my part, I have hardly any doubt
“ but it will be taken ; however, we must
“ wait

“ wait the event ; I expect Cologne and Straß-
 “ bourg will share the same fate.—Let us
 “ see if the power of working miracles,
 “ with which the house of Austria seems
 “ endowed, will be as efficacious in its ope-
 “ ration against France, as it has been
 “ against the Turks ?

“ The world is now presented with a
 “ scene of action that will draw tears from
 “ the one half of Europe, and smiles from
 “ the other.”

“ P. S. Certain intelligence is arrived
 “ that the Dauphin commands the army of
 “ the besiegers at Philippsburg ; so that
 “ France has broke the treaty by attacking
 “ the emperor first : What say you to this
 “ *move* ? There will be great revolutions
 “ in our part of Europe. — I think, in a
 “ short space of time, you will also have the
 “ pleasure of seeing Rome attacked. This
 “ is an affair that twenty-four hours will de-
 “ termine. You will see wonderful events
 “ happen soon.—Every body here trembles,
 “ except myself.”

1689. Christina's predictions were ful-
 ly accomplished. Louis XIV. made
 the empire respect his arms ; and not-
 O withstanding

withstanding the thunder of excommunication, his ambassadors at Rome supported the privileges of their rank with dignity. King James and his family were forced to fly from England, abandoning the throne to his son-in-law the prince of Orange. Christina interested herself in some part of these calamities, observed the rest with tranquillity, and foretold the misfortunes with which Europe was threatened.

The elector of Brandenburg not only offered the queen a retreat worthy of her birth, but likewise proposed to assist her majesty against the persecutions of Rome, and the neglect of Sweden. The daughter of Gustavus, perceiving she had still some friends and protectors remaining, began to think of leaving a place, which the divisions that reigned there had rendered disagreeable. Perhaps, she even meditated a plan of ceding to the electoral house of Brandenburg all her claims, on condition she should be put in full possession of the sovereignty of the dutchy of Bremen; at least it is certain that she carried on a private treaty with the elector; and from
that

that source we are to draw those reproaches, and even menaces, against the Swedish government, which are found in her last letters. "Be assured, says she to the governor of her domains, that if all things should not succeed answerably to our wishes, I shall be just enough to believe the fault is not yours; nor is it, now, a matter of consequence to me; for I am inclined to have an everlasting public quarrel with Sweden. — I hope to make that king repent his ingratitude and injustice; and observe, I do not say these words without foundation."

The queen was engaged in another article with the elector of Brandenburg, one that flattered her in a high degree, as she expresses it, with expectations of felicity and repose. Pursuant to her design of residing in Germany, she made a proposition to the elector to constitute him her universal heir, if he would insure to her for life the revenues of Magdebourg and Halberstadt.

All these projects, with her own life, drew near a final period; a dangerous disorder had already hurried her to the gates

292 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

of death ; when, deceived by a false glimmering of health, she said, “ Divine Grace
 “ has joined with nature and art to work
 “ a miracle in my favour : they have re-
 “ stored to me life and health,—my confi-
 “ tution is yet vigorous, and has been able
 “ to repel an enemy capable of killing
 “ twenty Hercules’s.”

A short time after her recovery, Christina was a second time attacked by a malignant fever : no longer doubting that her last hour approached, she beheld the ghastly tyrant Death with the same fortitude of soul she had always discovered ; her dying sentiments were those of a good Christian and a Roman-catholic. She requested the Pope’s protection to her domestics, and entreated the holy father to pardon those unguarded actions and expressions which she acknowledged herself guilty of towards him : this submission procured an absolution from his holiness. The ascendancy cardinal Azolini had acquired over her mind gave him an opportunity to take care of his own interest. He drew up a will wherein he was appointed residuary legatee, after the payment of several particular legacies for founding

founding chapels and masses, as well as for recompensing the fidelity of the officers and domestics of her household.

A statue of our Saviour, by Bernini the celebrated sculptor, was bequeathed to the reigning Pope, as a mark of her veneration and esteem, sayeth the will, for the vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth.

When this testament was presented to Christina, she signed it without attending much to the contents. She was arrived at that moment when the soul, all absorbed in eternity, seeks only to disengage itself from temporal cares. She died on the 19th of April, 1689, at six in the morning. Her funeral obsequies were very magnificent, though she had recommended the utmost simplicity to be observed; and, notwithstanding her request that the following words, only, might be engraved upon her monument, VIXIT CHRISTINA ANNOS LXIII. [Christina lived sixty-three years]; the Pope directed the composition of an ostentatious epitaph, inscribed to her honour.—She was interred in the church of St. Peter, in the robes she had herself prepared

294 HISTORY of CHRISTINA,
pared for this solemnity: a gilded bust of
Christina yet distinguishes her tomb.

On receiving information of the death of
this queen, Charles XI took immediate
possession of those funds set apart for her
support, re-uniting them to the royal ex-
chequer. Cardinal Azzolini enjoyed his
legacy but a short time, or rather it only
embarrassed him, by the opposition he met
with from the king of Sweden and the elector
of Brandenburg, surviving his benefactress
only two months: his nephew inherited
these rich possessions.

Thus an insignificant gentleman from
the borders of Ancona, by a singular ca-
price of fortune, became heir to a queen,
the daughter of the great Gustavus! Pope
Alexander VIII. of the Ottoboni family,
bought Christina's library, so rich in ma-
nuscripts, and added the greater part to
that of the Vatican, where it is known by
the title of *Bibliotheca Alexandrina*.

Don Livio Odeschalchi, nephew of In-
nocent XI. purchased the noble collection
of medals; and the pictures and statues,
which were in great abundance, and chosen
with

with exquisite taste, became the property of a variety of *virtuosi*. The duke of Orleans, regent of France, adorned his magnificent cabinet in the *Palais Royal* at Paris, with at least two hundred and fifty pictures of the best Italian masters. Thus the valuable curiosities which Christina had accumulated were dispersed through Europe, furnishing entertainment to many of its princes.

Christina was born with the courage of an Alexander, and the eloquence of a Tully; and was endowed by nature with the head of a Machiavel, and the heart of a Titus! The Swedish senators, grown old in the science of law and study of politicks, were unable to express their astonishment at the wise administration of their young sovereign. Greater sagacity, and perseverance of pursuit in every circumstance of government, could not be displayed. She would see and understand every thing: regularly consulting her ministers, yet never suffering her judgment to be influenced by their reputation or authority. She drew her own determination from their various sentiments, often striking out new lights from the subject in debate; so that her de-

cisions were regarded and respected as the oracles of reason. The predominant inclination of a strong and active soul, improved by a laborious and many education, gave her pre-eminence in the art of reigning. Dress occasioned very little interruption to her employments; she detested the sight of a looking-glass! and though desirous of appearing amiable, it must be in her own manner. She despised all amusements and occupations that have the marks of effeminacy. The study of ancient and modern languages, profound investigations of science, the cultivation of letters, and of the most useful and agreeable arts, were her *amusements*; unwearied attention to every care of government, and fulfilling every duty of royalty, were her *occupations*; to undertake long walks, long journeys, and hunting-matches; to sleep upon the dewy grass when tired with fencing, or lie awake whole nights, when inclined to sleep, were her *exercises*! Her perseverance and activity were unparalleled; and so steady was her resolution, that, when an infant, she refrained from drinking several days, because she was not permitted to drink water alone: and

and her aversion to wine and spirituous liquors was insurmountable. She regarded the sufferance of hunger, cold, and heat, as sports. Christina has given us the outlines of her character, and it is only a repetition of her own words to say, *she was distrustful, suspicious, ambitious to excess, passionate, haughty, and impatient; contemptuous, and addicted to raillery; and so little inclined to religious zeal as to appear rather incredulous; of a temperament ardent and impetuous; no enemy to love; but, if we have faith to believe her, was prevented from yielding to her natural disposition through pride, and an invincible repugnance to submit to the authority of another.* She totally neglected all the decorums of her sex, as thinking them below her attention. “I should act more in character, says she, to disengage myself entirely from these restraints! I was not born to be the slave of custom!” She passionately wished to become illustrious by great actions; little disturbed if she was likewise distinguished by a whimsical singularity in trifles. Her conversation was frequently interlarded with oaths:

298 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

oaths: she laughed immoderately loud; and took long, hasty strides in walking: in a word, neither her virtues nor defects, her graces or foibles, were feminine. The daughter of Gustavus appeared, in many respects, of a superior nature to the rest of her sex; and according to the wish of Gustavus, *this daughter was as intrinsically valuable as a son*. Her ruling passion, the love of fame, often seduced her by deceitful appearances, and transported her beyond the bounds of moderation. Quitting a throne upon which her birth, talents, and disposition ought to have fixed her, is the best-founded reproach that can be alledged against her conduct. Christina would have been ranked among the most illustrious monarchs, had she never descended from her hereditary seat: how glorious to Sweden was her administration! As a sovereign, that singularity of manners and character would only have shed an additional lustre on her person. An exalted genius has always some indelible marks which render it original, and give it an elevation above the vulgar; but it must be placed in a peculiar light: once

once removed from that advantageous point of view, the contrast becomes offensive to ordinary minds, and they are apt to form false conclusions. Christina felt the sad experience of this observation. With a soul capable of the sublimest actions, she suffered an inordinate fondness for liberty and letters to transport her from her proper orb, where she shone with unrivalled splendor, and place her on the stage of common life, to act a ridiculous character in society ! In vain did she preserve the grandeur of her former sentiments, pursuing the shadow of sovereignty in negotiations and ceremonials, when her imperfections and qualifications, nay, her very virtues were insurmountable obstacles to her making a graceful appearance in the situation, caprice had thrown her into *.

Christina,

* A modern Poet has happily delineated Christina, by the principal strokes of her figure and character, which his verses so much resemble that it is scarce possible to mistake her.

- “ By her petticoat so light,
- “ And her legs too much in sight ;
- “ By her doublet, cape — and dress,
- “ To a masculine excess—

“ Hat

300 HISTORY OF CHRISTINA,

Christina, in the leisure of retirement, composed several works of genius: the thoughts are elegant and judicious, and are cloathed in a pure, yet ornamented diction: her extensive correspondence with princes and scholars in all parts of Europe occasioned her writing a prodigious number of letters, in variety of languages; and about the year 1681, she began a history of her life, in French, dedicated to God. Only a fragment of this work is

" Hat and plume—and ribbands telt
 " Fore and aft, in careless pride;
 " By her gallant martial mien,
 " Like an Amazonian queen—;
 " Nose from Roman consul sprung,
 " And a fierce virago's tongue:
 " Large eyes, now sweet, and now severe,
 " Tell us, 'tis Christina clear.---
 " She who sat at Learning's helm,
 " Yet gave up both church and realm
 " For no earthly recompense:
 " She whose knowledge was immense,
 " Without faith a single grain---
 " Damn'd, as Lutherans maintain---
 " Sainted by the priest of Rome:
 " But whatever be her doom,
 " Heav'n or hell, or joy or shame,
 " She has left a deathless name."

saved

saved from oblivion, which extends no farther than the first part of her reign; nor is it known whether she continued her plan to a later period.

She also wrote remarks on two abridgments, digested under her own inspection, to the time of her abdication, and entitled, *Annals of her reign*.

There is still extant too, *A Collection of Miscellaneous Thoughts*, divided into chapters. She likewise drew up a plan for a metallic history; and composed a Dissertation on the Origin and Arms of the royal House of Vasa; together with some Critical Reflections on the Life and Actions of Cæsar and Alexander the Great. This queen furnished Alexander Guidi with the first sketch of his pastoral, called *Endymion*, enriching this poem with several stanzas of her composition; a singular favour, as she seldom amused herself with writing verses in any language but her own.

I shall not pass any judgment on these various productions; it belongs to the impartial reader to estimate their merit, always

ways remembering the time and circumstances in which they were composed : but, whatever imperfections the critics may discover, it must be granted that these pieces are the result of a warm imagination and an enlightened understanding, and are alone sufficient to gain Christina the wreath of immortality !

T H E E N D.

21





